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A

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

HISTORY

OF THE

British Settlements and Trade

IN

NORTH AMERICA.

WITH AN

IMPARTIAL HISTORY

OF THE

PRESENT WAR.

BROWN
PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL
UNIVERSITY.

HISTORY

OF THE

BRITISH

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

IN

NORTH AMERICA.

From the FRENCH *of Abbé RAYNAL.*

With an Introductory PREFACE, not in the First Edition.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED, AN

IMPARTIAL HISTORY

OF THE

PRESENT WAR IN AMERICA;

From its Commencement, to the Present Time.

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CENTRALE

PREFACE.

THE Author of the following *Account of the Britiſh Settlements in America* (* part of a larger work) is well known in the republic of letters by his former productions. He hath here expreſſed himſelf with that freedom, impartiality and boldneſs, which characteriſe the independent man and true philoſopher. He draws a juſt, lively, and pleaſing picture of the riſe, progreſs, and preſent ſtate (A. D. 1770) of the Britiſh American Colonies; and what muſt particularly ſtrike the attentive reader is, that, in the ſhort ſpace of 150 years, population ſhould make ſo rapid a progreſs in an uncomfortable wilderneſs, where the firſt handful of ſettlers were continually expoſed to cold, hunger, and the cruel attacks of ſurrounding ſavages. But the determined ſpirit of freedom, which firſt induced theſe men to quit their native land, ſupported them in every difficulty, and ſurmounted every danger. The deſart was cultivated, ſociety and laws inſtituted, cities and towns built, ports opened, commerce eſtabliſhed and carried on with a perſevering induſtry, unexampled in any other nation, and utterly unknown in former times.—The allegory of Amphion is here a reality;

* Hiſtoire Philoſophique et Politique, *des établiſſemens et du commerce Européens dans les deux Indes.*

lity; and a power hath arisen that attracts the admiration of the present age.

I AM sorry, our justly celebrated Author should seemingly countenance an opinion, prevalent indeed among the vulgar, *viz.* That men and other animals, carried from the Eastern continent, degenerate in the Western; an assertion contrary to known experience. He says, the Americans have never yet shewn any particular turn for arts or sciences; yet, more than once, mentions the learned *Franklin* (page 110, &c.) as great a philosopher and politician as ever this or any other age hath produced:—A name equal to any of antient or modern times, a man who hath boldly explored the recesses of the sky.

——————— *nec fulmina, nec minitanti*
Murmure compressit cælum. LUCR.

AND by giving lightning a direction at pleasure, hath taught us to preserve the public edifices and private habitations of mankind from its fatal effects. And do we not see at this day, America abounding in Philosophers *, Statesmen, Generals, and Soldiers, resisting with success, one of the greatest nations of Europe, whose arms were lately victorious in every quarter of the Globe. In fine, men whose great actions must rescue the present age from oblivion and contempt. And had our author been acquainted with the history of New England, a country always productive of great men, ever since its first

* Vide transactions of the Philosophical Society at Philadelphia.—*Quarto.*

firſt ſettlement, he would not have eaſily embraced this notion, worthy only of a dull, heavy German Miſanthrope *, who, from his cloſet, dogmatically aſſerts this abſurd opinion concerning the Americans whom he never ſaw, and whoſe country is only known to him by hear-ſay.

HITHERTO the hiſtory of our North American ſettlements has been ſcarcely, if at all attended to, and even our Miniſters ſeem to have known little or nothing of it, but were content with the information given them by ſelf-intereſted, deſigning, or perhaps ignorant men: Indeed the adminiſtration of public affairs in this country, as well as in ſome others, is too often committed to the care of men, who are not the moſt capable of diſcerning its true intereſt.—Men obſtinately wedded to their own opinions, deaf to good advice, warpt by prejudice and faction, who are more anxious to keep down their rivals than to follow the dictates of reaſon; by which it frequently happens, that powerful ſtates, from the ill management of thoſe who ſit at the helm, are brought to a ſudden and fatal decline.

MAY future ages and nations be taught, from the fatal experience of the preſent times, never raſhly to undervalue or contemn a people at large, as has been unfortunately the caſe at the beginning of the preſent unhappy conteſt, betwixt the government of Great Britain and the American States; mere force was then thought ſufficient, and political meaſures never once thought

* Recherches ſur les Americans, par M. Pawe. *Berlin.*

thought of, though it is now too apparent, that the latter ſhould have been only uſed in the firſt inſtance.

But to enter into a further diſcuſſion of this melancholy ſubject, will only ſerve to detain the reader from the peruſal of the following very agreeable Performance, a work equally calculated to pleaſe and inſtruct; in which the writer will be found to poſſeſs a great fund of knowledge, and to be maſter of that philoſophic reaſoning and concluſion, which a ſubject, ſo very important, muſt neceſſarily demand.

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A

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

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INTRODUCTION.

1. *First Expeditions of the English in North-America.*

ENGLAND was only known in America by her piracies, which were often ſucceſsful and always brilliant, when Sir Walter Raleigh conceived a project to make his nation partake of the prodigious riches which for near a century paſt flowed from that hemiſphere into ours. That great man, who was born for bold undertakings, caſt his eye on the eaſtern coaſt of North-America. The talent he had for ſubduing the mind by repreſenting all his propoſals in a ſtriking light, ſoon procured him aſſociates, both at court and amongſt the merchants. The company that was formed upon the allurements of his magnificent promiſes, obtained of government, in 1584, the abſolute diſpoſal of all the diſcoveries that ſhould be made; and without any further encouragement, they fitted out two ſhips in April following, that anchored in Roanoak bay, which now

makes a part of Carolina. Their commanders, worthy of the truſt repoſed in them, behaved with remarkable affability in a country where they wanted to ſettle their nation, and left the ſavages to make their own terms in the trade they propoſed to open with them.

Every thing that theſe ſucceſsful navigators reported on their return to Europe, concerning the temperature of the climate, the fertility of the ſoil, and the diſpoſition of the inhabitants, encouraged the ſociety to proceed. They accordingly ſent ſeven ſhips the following ſpring, which landed a hundred and eight free men at Roanoak, for the purpoſe of commencing a ſettlement. Part of them were murdered by the ſavages, whom they had inſulted; and the reſt, having been ſo improvident as to neglect the culture of the land, were periſhing with miſery and hunger, when a deliverer came to their aſſiſtance.

This was Sir Francis Drake, ſo famous among ſeamen for being the next after Magellan who ſailed round the globe. The abilities he had ſhewn in that grand expedition induced queen Elizabeth to make choice of him to humble Philip II. in that part of his domains which he made uſe of to diſturb the peace of other nations. Few orders were ever more punctually executed. The Engliſh fleet ſeized upon St Jago, Carthagena, St Domingo, and ſeveral other important places; and took a great many rich ſhips. His inſtructions were, that, after theſe operations, he ſhould proceed and offer his aſſiſtance to the colony at Roanoak. The wretched few, who had ſurvived the numberleſs calamities that had befallen them, were in ſuch deſpair, that they refuſed all aſſiſtance, and only begged he would convey them to their native country. The admiral complied with their requeſt; and thus the expences that had been diſburſed till that time were loſt.

The aſſociates, however, were not diſcouraged by this unforeſeen event. From time to time they ſent over a few coloniſts, who by the year 1589 amounted

mounted to a hundred and fifty perſons of both ſexes, under a regular government, and fully provided with all they wanted for their defence, and for the purpoſes of agriculture and commerce. Theſe beginnings raiſed ſome expectations, but they were loſt in the diſgrace of Raleigh, who fell a victim to the caprices of his own wild imagination. The colony, having loſt its founder, was totally forgotten.

It had been thus neglected for twelve years, when Goſnold, one of the firſt aſſociates, reſolved to viſit it in 1602. His experience in navigation made him ſuſpect, that the right tract had not been found out; and that, in ſteering by the Canary and Caribbee iſlands, the voyage had been made longer than it need have been by above a thouſand leagues. Theſe conjectures induced him to ſteer away from the ſouth, and to turn more weſtward. The attempt ſucceeded; but when he reached the American coaſt, he found himſelf further north than any who had gone before. The region where he landed, ſince included in New-England, afforded him plenty of beautiful furs, with which he ſailed back to England.

The ſpeed and ſucceſs of this undertaking made a ſtrong impreſſion upon the Engliſh merchants. Several joined in 1606 to form a ſettlement in the country that Goſnold had diſcovered. Their example recalled to others the remembrance of Roanoak; and this gave riſe to two charter companies. As the continent where they were to exerciſe their monopoly was then known in England only by the general name of Virginia, the one was called the South Virginia, and the other the North Virginia Company.

The firſt zeal ſoon abated, and there appeared to be more jealouſy than emulation between the two companies. Though they had been favoured with the firſt lottery that ever was drawn in England, their progreſs was ſo ſlow, that in 1614 there were not above four hundred perſons in both ſettlements. That ſort of competency which was ſufficient for the ſimplicity of the manners of the times, was then ſo

general in England, that no one was tempted to go abroad by the proſpect of a fortune. It is a ſenſe of misfortune, ſtill more than the thirſt of riches, that gives men a diſlike to their native country. Nothing leſs than an extraordinary ferment could then have peopled even an excellent country. This was at length brought about by ſuperſtition, and excited by the colliſion of religious opinions.

2. *The continent of America is peopled by the religious wars that diſturb England.*

THE firſt prieſts of the Britons were the Druids, ſo famous in the annals of Gaul. To throw a myſterious veil upon the ceremonies of a ſavage worſhip, their rites were never performed but in dark receſſes, and generally in gloomy groves, where fear creates ſpectres and apparitions. Only a few perſons were initiated into theſe myſteries, and intruſted with the ſacred doctrines; and even theſe were not allowed to commit any thing to writing upon this important ſubject, leſt their ſecrets ſhould fall into the hands of the profane vulgar. The altars of a formidable deity were ſtained with the blood of human victims, and enriched with the moſt precious ſpoils of war. Though the dread of the vengeance of heaven was the only guard of theſe treaſures, they were always reverenced by avarice, which the druids had artfully repreſſed by the fundamental doctrine of the endleſs tranſmigration of the ſoul. The chief authority of government reſided in the miniſters of that terrible religion; becauſe men are more powerfully and more laſtingly ſwayed by opinion than by any other motive. The education of youth was in their hands; and the aſcendency they aſſumed at that period remained through the reſt of life. They took cognizance of all civil and criminal cauſes, and were as abſolute in their deciſions on ſtate affairs as on the private differences between man and man. Whoever dared

dared to reſiſt their decrees, was not only excluded from all participation in the divine myſteries, but even from the ſociety of men. It was accounted a crime and a reproach to hold any converſe or to have any dealings with him; he was irrevocably deprived of the protection of the laws, and nothing but death could put an end to his miſeries. The hiſtory of human ſuperſtitions affords no inſtance of any one ſo tyrannical as that of the druids. It was the only one that provoked the Romans to uſe ſeverity, as none oppoſed the power of thoſe conquerors with ſuch violence as the druids.

That religion, however, had loſt much of its influence, when it was totally baniſhed by Chriſtianity in the ſeventh century. The northern nations, that had ſucceſſively invaded the ſouthern provinces of Europe, had found there the ſeeds of that new religion, in the ruins of an empire that was falling on all ſides. Whether it was owing to their indifference for their diſtant gods, or to their ignorance which was eaſily perſuaded, they readily embraced a worſhip which from the multiplicity of its ceremonies could not but attract the notice of rude and ſavage men. The Saxons, who afterwards invaded England, followed their example, and adopted without difficulty a religion that ſecured their conqueſt by aboliſhing their old forms of worſhip.

The effects were ſuch as might be expected from a religion, the original ſimplicity of which was at that time ſo much diſfigured. Idle contemplations were ſoon ſubſtituted in lieu of active and ſocial virtues; and a ſtupid veneration for unknown ſaints, to the worſhip of the Supreme Being. Miracles dazzled the eyes of men, and diverted them from attending to natural cauſes. They were taught to believe that prayers and offerings would atone for the moſt heinous crimes. Every ſentiment of reaſon was perverted, and every principle of morality corrupted.

Thoſe who had been at leaſt the promoters of this

confuſion, knew how to avail themſelves of it. The prieſts obtained that reſpect which was denied to kings; and their perſons became ſacred. The Magiſtrate had no inſpection over their conduct, and they even evaded the watchfulneſs of the civil law. Their tribunal eluded and even ſuperſeded all others. They found means to introduce religion into every queſtion of law, and into all ſtate affairs, and made themſelves umpires or judges in every cauſe. When faith ſpoke, every one liſtened, in ſilent attention, to its inexplicable oracles. Such was the infatuation of thoſe dark ages, that the ſcandalous exceſſes of the clergy did not weaken their authority.

This was owing to its being already founded on great riches. As ſoon as the prieſts had taught that religion depended principally upon ſacrifices, and required firſt of all that of fortune and earthly poſſeſſions, the nobility, who were ſole proprietors of all eſtates, employed their ſlaves to build churches, and allotted their lands to the endowment of thoſe foundations. Kings gave to the church all that they had extorted from the people; and ſtripped themſelves to ſuch a degree, as even not to leave a ſufficiency for the payment of the army, or for defraying the other charges of government. Theſe deficiencies were never made up by thoſe who were the cauſe of them. They bore no ſhare in the maintenance of ſociety. The payment of taxes with church money would have been a ſacrilege, and a proſtitution of holy things to profane purpoſes. Such was the declaration of the clergy, and the laity believed them. The poſſeſſion of the third part of the feudal tenures in the kingdom, the free-will offerings of a deluded people, and the price ſet upon the prieſtly offices, did not ſatisfy the enormous avidity of the clergy, ever attentive to their own intereſt. They found in the Old Teſtament, that by divine appointment the prieſts had an undoubted right to the tithes of the produce of the land. This claim was ſo readily admitted, that they extended it to the tithe of induſtry, of the profits on

trade,

trade, of the wages of labourers, of the pay of ſoldiers, and ſometimes of the ſalaries of place-men.

Rome, who at firſt was a ſilent ſpectator of theſe proceedings, and proudly enjoyed the ſucceſs that attended the rich and haughty apoſtles of a Saviour born in obſcurity, and who died an ignominious death, ſoon coveted a ſhare in the ſpoils of England. The firſt ſtep ſhe took was to open a trade for relics, which were always uſhered in with ſome ſtriking miracle, and ſold in proportion to the credulity of the purchaſers. The great men, and even monarchs, were invited to go in pilgrimage to the capital of the world, to purchaſe a place in heaven ſuitable to the rank they held on earth The popes by degrees aſſumed the preſentation to church preferments, which at firſt they gave away, but afterwards ſold. By theſe means, their tribunal took cognizance of all eccleſiaſtical cauſes, and in time they claimed a tenth of the revenues of the clergy, who themſelves levied the tenth of all the ſubſtance of the realm.

When theſe pious extortions were carried as far as they poſſibly could be in England, Rome aſpired to the ſupreme authority over it. The frauds of her ambition were covered with a ſacred veil. She ſapped the foundations of liberty, but it was by employing the influence of opinion only. This was ſetting up men in oppoſition to themſelves, and availing herſelf of their prejudices in order to acquire an abſolute dominion over them. She uſurped the power of a deſpotic judge between the altar and the throne, between the prince and his ſubjects, between one potentate and another. She kindled the flames of war with her ſpiritual thunders. But ſhe wanted emiſſaries to ſpread the terror of her arms, and made choice of the monks for that purpoſe. The ſecular clergy, notwithſtanding their celibacy, which kept them from worldly connections, had ſtill an attachment to the world by the ties of intereſt, often ſtronger than thoſe of blood. A ſet of men, ſecluded from ſociety by ſingular inſtitutions which muſt incline them

to

to fanaticiſm, and by a blind ſubmiſſion to the dictates of a foreign pontiff, were beſt adapted to ſecond the views of ſuch a ſovereign. Theſe vile and abject tools of ſuperſtition fulfilled their fatal employment but too ſucceſsfully. With their intrigues, ſeconded by favourable occurences, England, which had ſo long withſtood the conquering arms of the ancient Roman empire, became tributary to modern Rome.

At length the paſſions and violent caprices of Henry VIII. broke the ſcandalous dependence. The abuſe of ſo infamous a power had already opened the eyes of the nation. The prince ventured at once to ſhake off the authority of the pope, aboliſh monaſteries, and aſſume the ſupremacy over his own church.

This open ſchiſm was followed by other alterations in the reign of Edward, ſon and ſucceſſor to Henry. The religious opinions, which were then changing the face of Europe, were openly diſcuſſed. Something was taken from every one. Many doctrines and rites of the old religion were retained; and from theſe ſeveral ſyſtems or tenets aroſe a new communion, diſtinguiſhed by the name of The Church of England.

Elizabeth, who completed this important work, found theory alone too ſubtle; and thought it moſt expedient to captivate the ſenſes, by the addition of ſome ceremonies. Her natural taſte for grandeur, and the deſire of putting a ſtop to the diſputes about points of doctrine, by entertaining the eye with the external parade of worſhip, made her inclined to adopt a greater number of religious rites. But ſhe was reſtrained by political conſiderations, and was obliged to ſacrifice ſomething to the prejudices of a party that had raiſed her to the throne, and was able to maintain her upon it.

Far from ſuſpecting that James I. would execute what Elizabeth had not even dared to attempt, it might be expected that he would rather have been

inclined

inclined to reſtrain eccleſiaſtical rites and ceremonies. That prince, who had been trained up in the principles of the Preſbyterians, a ſect who, with much ſpiritual pride, affected great ſimplicity of dreſs, gravity of manners, and auſterity of doctrine, and loved to ſpeak in ſcripture phraſes, and to make uſe of none but ſcripture names for their children. One would have ſuppoſed that ſuch an education muſt have prejudiced the king againſt the outward pomp of the catholic worſhip, and every thing that bore any affinity to it. But the ſpirit of ſyſtem prevailed in him over the principles of education. Struck with the epiſcopal juriſdiction which he found eſtabliſhed in England, and which he thought conformable to his own notions of civil government, he abandoned from conviction the early impreſſions he had received, and grew paſſionately fond of a hierarchy modelled upon the political œconomy of a well conſtituted empire. In this enthuſiaſm, he wanted to introduce this wonderful diſcipline into Scotland, his native country; and to unite to it a great many of the Engliſh, who ſtill diſſented from it. He even intended to add the pomp of the moſt awful ceremonies to the majeſtic plan, if he could have carried his grand projects into execution. But the oppoſition he met with at firſt ſetting out, would not permit him to advance any further in his ſyſtem of reformation. He contented himſelf with recommending to his ſon to reſume his views, whenever the times ſhould furniſh a favourable opportunity; and repreſented the Preſbyterians to him as alike dangerous to religion and to the throne.

Charles readily adopted his advice, which was but too conformable to the principles of deſpotiſm he had imbibed from Buckingham his favourite, the moſt corrupt of men, and the corrupter of the courtiers. To pave the way to the revolution he was meditating, he promoted ſeveral biſhops to the higheſt dignities in the government, and conferred on them moſt of the offices that gave the greateſt influence on public meaſures.

meaſures. Thoſe ambitious prelates, now become the maſters of a prince who had been weak enough to be guided by the inſtigations of others, betrayed that ambition ſo familiar to the clergy, of raiſing up eccleſiaſtical juriſdiction under the ſhadow of the royal prerogative. They multiplied the church ceremonies without end, under pretence of their being of apoſtolical inſtitution; and, to inforce their obſervance, had recourſe to royal acts of arbitrary power.

It was evident that there was a ſettled deſign of reſtoring, in all its ſplendour, what the Proteſtants called Romiſh idolatry, though the moſt violent means ſhould be neceſſary to compaſs it. This project gave the more umbrage, as it was ſupported by the prejudices and intrigues of a preſumptuous queen, who had brought from France an immoderate paſſion for popery and arbitrary power.

It can ſcarce be imagined what acrimony theſe alarming ſuſpicions had raiſed in the minds of the people. Common prudence would have allowed time for the ferment to ſubſide. But the ſpirit of fanaticiſm made choice of thoſe troubleſome times to recal every thing to the unity of the church of England, which was become more odious to the diſſenters, ſince ſo many cuſtoms had been introduced into it which they conſidered as ſuperſtitious. An order was iſſued, that both kingdoms ſhould conform to the worſhip and diſcipline of the epiſcopal church. This law included the Preſbyterians, who then began to be called Puritans, becauſe they profeſſed to take the pure and ſimple word of God for the rule of their faith and practice. It was extended likewiſe to all the foreign Calviniſts that were in the kingdom, whatever difference there might be in their opinions. This hierarchal worſhip was enjoined to the regiments, and trading companies, that were in the ſeveral countries in Europe. Laſtly, the Engliſh ambaſſadors were required to ſeparate from all communion with the foreign proteſtants; ſo that England loſt all the influence ſhe had abroad, as the head and ſupport of the reformation.

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In this fatal criſis, moſt of the Puritans were divided between ſubmiſſion and oppoſition. Thoſe who would neither ſtoop to yield, nor take the pains to reſiſt, turned their views towards North-America, to ſeek for that civil and religious liberty which their ungrateful country denied them. The enemies of their peace attempted to ſhut this retreat againſt theſe devout fugitives, who wanted to worſhip God in their own way in a deſert land. Eight ſhips that lay at anchor in the Thames ready to ſail, were ſtopped; and Cromwell is ſaid to have been detained there by that very king whom he afterwards brought to the ſcaffold. Enthuſiaſm, however, ſtronger than the rage of perſecution, ſurmounted every obſtacle; and that region of America was ſoon filled with Preſbyterians. The comfort they enjoyed in their retreat, gradually induced all thoſe of their party to follow them, who were not attrocious enough to take delight in thoſe dreadful cataſtrophes which ſoon after made England a ſcene of blood and horror. Many were afterwards induced to remove thither in more peaceable times, with a view to advance their fortunes. In a word, all Europe contributed greatly to increaſe their population. Thouſands of unhappy men, oppreſſed by the tyranny or intolerant ſpirit of their ſovereign, took refuge in that hemiſphere. Let us now endeavour to acquire ſome information reſpecting that country.

3. *Parallel between the Old and the New World.*

It is ſurpriſing that for ſo long a time ſo little ſhould have been known of the new world even after it was diſcovered. Barbarous ſoldiers and rapacious merchants were not proper perſons to give us juſt and clear notions of this half of the univerſe. It was the province of philoſophy alone to avail itſelf of the informations ſcattered in the accounts of voyagers and miſſionaries, in order to ſee America ſuch as nature

hath

hath made it, and to inveſtigate its affinity with the reſt of the globe.

It is now pretty certain, that the new continent has not half the extent of ſurface as the old. On the other hand, the form of both is ſo ſingularly alike, that we might eaſily be ſeduced to draw conſequences from this particular, if it were always not right to be upon our guard againſt the ſpirit of ſyſtem, which often ſtops us in our reſearches after truth, and hinders us from attaining to it.

The two continents ſeem to form as it were two broad ſlips of land that begin from the arctic pole, and terminate at the tropic of Capricorn, parted on the eaſt and weſt by the ocean that ſurrounds them. Whatever may be the ſtructure of theſe two continents, and the balance or ſymmetry of their form, it is plain their equilibrium does not depend upon their poſition. It is the inconſtancy of the ſea that makes the ſolidity of the earth. To fix the globe upon its baſis, it ſeemed neceſſary to have an element which, floating inceſſantly round our planet, might by its weight counterbalance all other ſubſtances, and by its fluidity reſtore that equilibrium which the conflict of the other elements might have overthrown. Water, by the motion that is natural to it, and by its gravity likewiſe, is infinitely better calculated to keep up that harmony and that balance of the ſeveral parts round its centre. If our hemiſphere has a very wide extent of land to the north, a maſs of water of equal weight at the oppoſite part will certainly produce an equilibrium. If under the tropics we have a rich country covered with men and animals; under the ſame latitude, America will have a ſea full of fiſh. Whilſt foreſts of trees bending under the largeſt fruits, the moſt enormous quadrupeds, the moſt populous nations, elephants and men, preſs on the ſurface of the earth, and ſeem to abſorb all its fertility throughout the torrid zone; at both poles, are found the whales, with innumerable multitudes of cods and herrings, with clouds of inſects, and all the infinite and prodigious tribes that inhabit the ſeas, as if to

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ſupport the axis of the earth, and prevent its inclining or deviating to either ſide; if, however, elephants, whales, or men, can be ſaid to have any weight on a globe, where all living creatures are but a tranſient modification of the earth that compoſes it. In a word, the ocean rolls over this globe to faſhion it, in conformity to the general laws of gravity. Sometimes it covers and ſometimes it uncovers a hemiſphere, a pole, or a zone; but in general it ſeems to affect more particularly the equator, as the cold of the poles in ſome meaſure takes off that fluidity which conſtitutes its eſſence, and imparts to it all its action. It is chiefly between the tropics that the ſea ſpreads and is in motion, and that it undergoes the greateſt change both in its regular and periodical motions, as well as in thoſe kinds of convulſions occaſionally excited in it by tempeſtuous winds. The attraction of the ſun, and the fermentations occaſioned by its continual heat in the torrid zone, muſt have a very remarkable influence upon the ocean. The motion of the moon adds a new force to this influence; and the ſea, to yield to this double impulſe, muſt, it ſhould ſeem, flow towards the equator. The flatneſs of the globe towards the poles can only be aſcribed to that great extent of water that has hitherto prevented our knowing any thing of the lands near the ſouth pole. The ſea cannot eaſily paſs from within the tropics, if the temperate and frozen zones are not nearer the centre of the earth than the torrid zone. It is the ſea then that conſtitutes the equilibrium with the land, and diſpoſes the arrangement of the materials that compoſe it. One proof that the two regular ſlips of land which the two continents of the globe preſent at firſt view are not eſſentially neceſſary to its conformation, is, that the new hemiſphere has remained covered with the waters of the ſea a much longer time than the old. Beſides, if there is a viſible affinity between the two hemiſpheres, there may be differences between them as ſtriking as the ſimilitude is, which will deſtroy that ſuppoſed harmony we flatter ourſelves that we ſhall find.

When we conſider the map of the world, and ſee the local correſpondence there is between the iſthmus of Suez and that of Panama, between the cape of Good Hope and cape Horn, between the Archipelago of the Eaſt-Indies and that of the Leeward Iſlands, and between the mountains of Chili and thoſe of Monomotapa, we are ſtruck with the ſimilarity of the ſeveral forms this picture preſents. Every where we imagine we ſee land oppoſite to land, water to water, iſlands and peninſulas ſcattered by the hand of nature to ſerve as a counterpoiſe, and the ſea by its fluctuation conſtantly maintaining the balance of the whole. But if, on the other hand, we compare the great extent of the Pacific Ocean, which parts the Eaſt and Weſt Indies, with the ſmall ſpace the Ocean occupies between the coaſt of Guinea and that of Braſil; the vaſt quantity of inhabited land to the North, with the little we know towards the South; the direction of the mountains of Tartary and Europe, which is from Eaſt to Weſt, with that of the Cordileras which run from North to South; the mind is at a ſtand, and we have the mortification to ſee the order and ſymmetry vaniſh with which we had embelliſhed our ſyſtem of the earth. The obſerver is ſtill more diſpleaſed with his conjectures, when he conſiders the immenſe height of the mountains of Peru. Then, indeed, he is aſtoniſhed to ſee a continent ſo high and ſo lately diſcovered, the ſea ſo far below its tops, and ſo recently come down from the lands that ſeemed to be effectually defended from its attacks by thoſe tremendous bulwarks. It is, however, an undeniable fact, that both continents of the new hemiſphere have been covered with the ſea. The air and the land confirm this truth.

The broad and long rivers of America; the immenſe foreſts to the South; the ſpacious lakes and vaſt moraſſes to the North; the eternal ſnows between the tropics; few of thoſe pure ſands that ſeem to be the remains of an exhauſted ground; no men entirely black; very fair people under the line; a cool

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and mild air in the ſame latitude, as the ſultry and uninhabitable parts of Africa; a frozen and ſevere climate under the ſame parallel as our temperate climates; and, laſtly, a difference of ten or twelve degrees in the temperature of the old and new hemiſpheres; theſe are ſo many tokens of a world that is ſtill in its infancy.

Why ſhould the continent of America be ſo much warmer and ſo much colder in proportion than that of Europe, if it were not for the moiſture the ocean has left behind, by quitting it long after our continent was peopled? Nothing but the ſea can poſſibly have prevented Mexico from being inhabited as early as Aſia. If the waters that ſtill moiſten the bowels of the earth in the new hemiſphere had not covered its ſurface, man would very early have cut down the woods, drained the fens, conſolidated a ſoft and watery ſoil by ſtirring it up and expoſing it to the rays of the ſun, opened a free paſſage to the winds, and raiſed dikes along the rivers: In ſhort, the climate would have been totally altered by this time. But a rude and unpeopled hemiſphere denotes a recent world; when the ſea, rolling in the neighbourhood of its coaſts, ſtill flows obſcurely in its channels. The ſun leſs ſcorching, more plentiful rains, and thicker and more ſtagnating vapours, betray either the decay or the infancy of nature.

The difference of climate, ariſing from the waters having lain ſo long on the ground in America, could not but have a great influence on men and animals. From this diverſity of cauſes muſt neceſſarily ariſe a very great diverſity of effects. Accordingly we ſee more ſpecies of animals, by two thirds, in the old continent than in the new; animals of the ſame kind conſiderably larger; fiercer and more ſavage monſters, in proportion to the greater increaſe of mankind. On the other hand, nature ſeems to have ſtrangely neglected the new world. The men have leſs ſtrength and leſs courage; no beard and no hair: they are degraded in all the tokens of man-

hood; and but little ſuſceptible of the lively and powerful ſentiment of love, which is the principle of every attachment, the firſt inſtinct, the firſt band of ſociety, without which all the other factitious ties have neither energy nor duration. The women, who are ſtill more weak, are neither favourably treated by nature nor by the men, who have but little love for them, and conſider them as the inſtruments that are to furniſh to their wants; they rather ſacrifice them to their own indolence, than conſecrate them to their pleaſures. This indolence is the great delight and ſupreme felicity of the Americans, of which the women are the victims by the continual labours impoſed upon them. It muſt, however, be confeſſed, that in America, as in all other parts, the men, when they have ſentenced the women to work, have been ſo equitable as to take upon themſelves the perils of war, together with the toils of hunting and fiſhing. But their indifference for the ſex which nature has intruſted with the care of reproducing the ſpecies, implies an imperfection in their organs, a ſort of ſtate of childhood in the people of America, as in thoſe of our continent who are not yet arrived to the age of puberty. This is a radical vice in the other hemiſphere, the recency of which is diſcovered by this kind of imperfection.

But if the Americans are new people, are they a race of men originally diſtinct from thoſe that cover the face of the old world? This is a queſtion which ought not to be haſtily decided. The origin of the population of America is involved in inextricable difficulties. If we aſſert that the Greenlanders firſt came from Norway, and then went over to the coaſt of Labrador; others will tell us, it is more natural to ſuppoſe that the Greenlanders are ſprung from the Eſquimaux, to whom they bear a greater reſemblance than to the Europeans. If we ſhould ſuppoſe that California was peopled from Kamtſchatka, it may be aſked what motive or what chance could have led the Tartars to the north-weſt of America.

rica. Yet it is imagined to be from Greenland or from Kamtſchatka that the inhabitants of the old world muſt have gone over to the new, as it is by thoſe two countries that the two continents are connected, or at leaſt approach neareſt to one another. Beſides, how can we conceive that in America the torrid zone can have been peopled from one of the frozen zones? Population will indeed ſpread from north to ſouth; but it muſt naturally have begun under the equator, where life is cheriſhed by warmth. If the people of America could not come from our continent, and yet appear to be a new race, we muſt have recourſe to the flood, which is the ſource and the ſolution of all difficulties in the hiſtory of nations.

Let us ſuppoſe, that the ſea having overflowed the other hemiſphere, its old inhabitants took refuge upon the Apalachian mountains, and the Cordileras, which are far higher than our mount Ararat. But how could they have lived upon thoſe heights, covered with ſnow, and ſurrounded with waters? How is it poſſible, that men, who had breathed in a pure and delightful climate, could have ſurvived the miſeries of want, the inclemency of a tainted air, and thoſe numberleſs calamities which muſt be the unavoidable conſequences of a deluge? How will the race have been preſerved and propagated in thoſe times of general calamity, and in the ſucceeding ages of a languid exiſtence? In defiance of all theſe obſtacles, we muſt allow that America has been peopled by theſe wretched remains of the great devaſtation. Every thing carries the veſtiges of a malady, of which the human race ſtill feels the effects. The ruin of that world is ſtill imprinted on its inhabitants. They are a ſpecies of men degraded and degenerated in their natural conſtitution, in their ſtature, in their way of life, and in their underſtandings, which have made ſo little progreſs in all the arts of civilization. A damper air, and a more marſhy ground, muſt neceſſarily infect the very roots

and ſeeds both of the ſubſiſtence and multiplication of mankind. It muſt have required ſome ages to reſtore population, and ſtill a greater number before the ground could be ſettled and dried ſo as to be fit for tillage and for the foundation of buildings. The earth muſt neceſſarily be purified before the air could clear, and the air muſt be clear before the earth could be rendered habitable. The imperfection therefore of nature in America is not a proof of its recent origin, but of its regeneration. It was probably peopled at the ſame time as the other hemiſphere, but may have been overflown later. The large foſſil bones that are found under ground in America, ſhew that it formerly had elephants, rhinoceroſes, and other enormous quadrupeds, which have ſince diſappeared from thoſe regions. The gold and ſilver mines that are found juſt below the ſurface, are ſigns of a very ancient revolution of the globe, but later than thoſe that have overturned our hemiſphere.

Suppoſe America had, by ſome means or other, been repeopled by our roving hords, that period would be ſo remote, that it would ſtill give great antiquity to the inhabitants of that hemiſphere. Three or four centuries will not then be ſufficient to allow for the foundation of the empires of Mexico and Peru; for though we find no trace in theſe countries of our arts, or of the opinions and cuſtoms that prevail in other parts of the globe, yet we have found a police and a ſociety eſtabliſhed, inventions and practices, which, though they did not ſhew any marks of times anterior to the deluge, yet they implied a long ſeries of ages ſubſequent to this cataſtrophe. For though in Mexico, as in Egypt, a conntry ſurrounded with waters, mountains, and other invincible obſtacles, muſt have forced the men incloſed in it to unite after a time, though they might at firſt live in altercations and in continual and bloody wars, yet it was only in proceſs of time that they could invent and eſtabliſh a worſhip and a legiſlation, which they could not poſſibly

poſſibly have borrowed from remote times or countries. The ſingle art of ſpeech, and that of writing, though but in hieroglyphics, required more ages to train up an unconnected nation that muſt have created both thoſe arts, than it would take up days to perfect a child in both. Ages bear not the ſame proportion to the whole race as years do to individuals. The former is to occupy a vaſt field, both as to ſpace and duration; while the other has only ſome moments or inſtants of time to fill up, or rather to run over. The likeneſs and uniformity obſervable in the features and manners of the American nations, plainly ſhew that they are not ſo ancient as thoſe of our continent which differ ſo much from each other; but at the ſame time this circumſtance ſeems to confirm that they did not proceed from any foreign hemiſphere, with which they have no kind of affinity that can indicate an immediate deſcent.

4. *Compariſon between civilized people and ſavages.*

WHATEVER may be the caſe with regard to their origin or their antiquity, which are both uncertain, a more intereſting object of inquiry, perhaps, is, to determine whether theſe untutored natious are more or leſs happy than our civilized people. Let us, therefore, examine whether the condition of rude man left to mere animal inſtinct, whoſe day, which is ſpent in hunting, feeding, producing his ſpecies, and repoſing himſelf, is the model of all the reſt of his days, is better or worſe than the condition of that wonderful being, who makes his bed of down, ſpins and weaves the thread of the ſilk-worm to clothe himſelf, has exchanged the cave, his original abode, for a palace, and has varied his indulgences and his wants in a thouſand different ways.

It is in the nature of man that we muſt look for his means of happineſs. What does he want to be as happy as he can be? Preſent ſubſiſtence; and, if he thinks

thinks of futurity, the hopes and certainty of enjoying that bleſſing. The ſavage, who has not been driven to the friged zones, is not in want of this firſt of neceſſaries. If he lays in no ſtores, it is becauſe the earth and the ſea are reſervoirs always open to ſupply his wants. Fiſh and game are to be had all the year, and will make up for the deficiency of the dead ſeaſons. The ſavage has no cloſe houſes, or commodious fire-places; but his furs anſwer all the purpoſes of the roof, the garment, and the ſtove. He works but for his own benefit, ſleeps when he is weary, and is a ſtranger to watchings and reſtleſs nights. War is a matter of choice to him. Danger, like labour, is a condition of his nature, not a profeſſion annexed to his birth; a duty of the nation, not a family bondage. The ſavage is ſerious, but not melancholy; and his countenance ſeldom bears the impreſſion of thoſe paſſions and diſorders that leave ſuch ſhocking and fatal marks on ours. He cannot feel the want of what he does not deſire, nor can he deſire what he is ignorant of. Moſt of the conveniences of life are remedies for evils he does not feel. Pleaſures are a relief to appetites which are not excited in his ſenſations. He ſeldom experiences any of that wearineſs that ariſes from unſatisfied deſires, or that emptineſs and uneaſineſs of mind that is the the offspring of prejudice and vanity. In a word, the ſavage is ſubject to none but natural evils.

But what greater happineſs than this does the civilized man enjoy? His food is more wholeſome and delicate than that of the ſavage. He has ſofter clothes, and a habitation better ſecured againſt the inclemencies of the weather. But the common people, who are to be the baſis and object of civil ſociety, thoſe numbers of men who in all ſtates bear the burden of hard labour, cannot be ſaid to live happy, either in thoſe empires where the conſequences of war and the imperfection of the police has reduced them to a ſtate of ſlavery, or in thoſe governments where the progreſs of luxury and policy has reduced them

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to a ſtate of ſervitude. The mixed goverments ſometimes afford ſome ſparks of happineſs, founded on a ſhadow of liberty ; but this happineſs is purchaſed by torrents of blood, which repel tyranny for a time only to let it fall the heavier upon the devoted nation, ſooner or later doomed to oppreſſion. Let us but obſerve how Caligula and Nero have revenged the expulſion of the Tarquins and the death of Cæſar.

Tyranny, we are told, is the work of the people, and not of kings. But if ſo, why do they ſuffer it ? Why do they not repel the encroachments of deſpotiſm ; and while it employs violence and artifice to enſlave all the faculties of men, why do they not oppoſe it with all their powers ? But is it lawful to murmur and complain under the rod of the oppreſſor ? Will it not exaſperate and provoke him to purſue the victim to death ? The cries of ſervitude he calls rebellion ; and they are to be ſtifled in a dungeon, and ſometimes on a ſcaffold. The man who ſhould aſſert the rights of man, would periſh in neglect and infamy. Tyranny, therefore, muſt be endured, under the name of authority.

If ſo, to what outrages is not the civilized man expoſed ! If he is poſſeſſed of any property, he knows not how far he may call it his own, when he muſt divide the produce between the courtier who may attack his eſtate, the lawyer who muſt be paid for teaching him how to preſerve it, the ſoldier who may lay it waſte, and the collector who comes to levy unlimited taxes. If he has no property, how can he be aſſured of a permanent ſubſiſtence ? What ſpecies of induſtry is there ſecured againſt the viciſſitudes of fortune, and the encroachments of government ?

In the foreſts of America, if there is a ſcarcity in the north, the ſavages bend their courſe to the ſouth. The wind or the ſun will drive a wandering clan to more temperate climates. Between the gates and bars that ſhut up our civilized ſtates, if famine, war, or peſtilence, ſhould conſume an empire, it is a priſon where all muſt expect to periſh in miſery, or in the horrors

horrors of ſlaughter. The man who is unfortunately born there muſt endure all extortions, all the ſeverities that the inclemency of the ſeaſons and the injuſtice of government may bring upon him.

In our provinces, the vaſſal, or free mercenary, digs and ploughs the whole year round, on lands that are not his own, and whoſe produce does not belong to him; and he is even happy, if his aſſiduous labour procures him a ſhare of the crops he has ſown and reaped. Obſerved and harraſſed by a hard and reſtleſs landlord, who grudges him the very ſtraw on which he reſts his weary limbs, the wretch is daily expoſed to diſeaſes, which, joined to his poverty, make him wiſh for death, rather than for an expenſive cure, followed by infirmities and toil. Whether tenant or ſubject, he is doubly a ſlave: if he has a few acres, his lord comes and gathers where he has not ſown; if he is worth but a yoke of oxen or a pair of horſes, he muſt go with them upon ſervices; if he has nothing but his perſon, the prince takes him for a ſoldier. Every where he meets with maſters, and always with oppreſſion.

In our cities, the workman and the artiſt who have eſtabliſhments are at the mercy of greedy and idle maſters, who by the privilege of monopoly have purchaſed of government a power of making induſtry work for nothing, and of ſelling its labours at a very high price. The lower claſs have no more than the ſight of that luxury of which they are doubly the victims, by the watchings and fatigues it occaſions them, and by the inſolence of the pomp that mortifies and tramples upon them.

Even ſuppoſing that the dangerous labours of our quarries, mines, and forges, with all the arts that are performed by fire, and that perils of navigation and commerce were leſs pernicious than the roving life of the ſavages, who live upon hunting and fiſhing; ſuppoſe that men, who are ever lamenting the ſorrows and affronts that ariſe merely from opinion, are leſs unhappy than the ſavages, who never ſhed a tear in

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the midſt of the moſt excruciating tortures; there would ſtill remain a wide difference between the fate of the civilized man and the wild Indian, a difference entirely to the diſadvantage of ſocial life. This is the injuſtice that reigns in the partial diſtribution of fortunes and ſtations; an inequality which is at once the effect and the cauſe of oppreſſion.

In vain does cuſtom, prejudice, ignorance, and hard labour, ſtupify the lower claſs of mankind, ſo as to render them inſenſible of their degradation; neither religion nor morality can hinder them from ſeeing and feeling the injuſtice of political order in the diſtribution of good and evil. How often have we heard the poor man expoſtulating with Heaven, and aſking what he had done, that he ſhould deſerve to be born in an indigent and dependent ſtation. Even if great conflicts were inſeparable from more exalted ſtations, which might be ſufficient to balance all the advantages and all the ſuperiority that the ſocial ſtate claims over the ſtate of nature, ſtill the obſcure man, who is unacquainted with thoſe conflicts, ſees nothing in a high rank but that affluence which is the cauſe of his own poverty. He envies the rich man thoſe pleaſures to which he is ſo accuſtomed, that he has loſt all reliſh for them. What domeſtic can have a real affection for his maſter, or what is the attachment of a ſervant? Was ever any prince truly beloved by his courtiers, even when he was hated by his ſubjects? If we prefer our condition to that of the ſavages, it is becauſe civil life has made us incapable of bearing ſome natural hardſhips which the ſavage is more expoſed to than we are, and becauſe we are attached to ſome indulgences that cuſtom has made neceſſary to us. Even in the vigour of life, a civilized man may accuſtom himſelf to live among ſavages, and return to the ſtate of nature. We have an inſtance of this in that Scotchman who was caſt away on the iſland of Fernandez, where he lived alone, and was happy as ſoon as he was ſo taken up with ſupplying his wants, as to forget his own country, his language, his name,

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and even the utterance of words. After four years, he felt himſelf eaſed of the burden of ſocial life, when he had loſt all reflexion or thought of the paſt, and all anxiety for the future.

Laſtly, the conſcioufneſs of independence being one of the firſt inſtincts in man, he who enjoys this primitive right, with a moral certainty of a competent ſubſiſtence, is incomparably happier than the rich man, reſtrained by laws, maſters, prejudices, and faſhions, which inceſſantly remind him of the loſs of his liberty. To compare the ſtate of the ſavages to that of children, is to decide at once the queſtion that has been ſo warmly debated by philoſophers, concerning the advantages of the ſtate of nature, and that of ſocial life. Children, notwithſtanding the reſtraints of education, are in the happieſt age of human Life. Their habitual cheerfulneſs, when they are not under the ſchoolmaſter's rod, is the ſureſt indication of the happineſs they feel. After all, a ſingle word may determine this great queſtion. Let us aſk the civilized man, whether he is happy; and the ſavage, whether he is unhappy. If they both anſwer in the negative, the diſpute is at an end.

Civilized nations, this parallel muſt certainly be mortifying to you: but you cannot too ſtrongly feel the weight of the calamities under which you groan. The more painful this ſenſation is, the more will it awaken your attention to the true cauſes of your ſufferings. You may at laſt be convinced that they proceed from the confuſion of your opinions, from the defects of your political conſtitutions, and from capricious laws, which are in continual oppoſition to the laws of nature.

After this inquiry into the moral ſtate of the Americans, let us return to the natural ſtate of their country. Let us ſee what it was before the arrival of the Engliſh, and what it is become under their dominion.

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5. *In what ſtate the Engliſh found North America, and what they have done there.*

THE firſt Europeans who went over to ſettle Engliſh colonies, found immenſe foreſts. The vaſt trees, that grew up to the clouds, were ſo encumbered with creeping plants, that they could not be got at. The wild beaſts made theſe woods ſtill more inacceſſible. They met only with a few ſavages, clothed with the ſkins of thoſe monſters. The human race, thinly ſcattered, fled from each other, or purſued only with intent to deſtroy. The earth ſeemed uſeleſs to man; and its powers were not exerted ſo much for his ſupport, as in the breeding of animals, more obedient to the laws of nature. The earth produced every thing at pleaſure without aſſiſtance, and without direction; it yielded all its bounties with uncontrolled profuſion for the benefit of all, not for the pleaſure or conveniences of one ſpecies of beings. The rivers now glided freely thro' the foreſts; now ſpread themſelves quietly in a wide moraſs; from hence iſſuing in various ſtreams, they formed a multitude of iſlands, encompaſſed with their channels. The ſpring was reſtored from the ſpoils of autumn. The leaves dried and rotted at the foot of the trees, ſupplied them with freſh ſap to enable them to ſhoot out new bloſſoms. The hollow trunks of trees afforded a retreat to prodigious flights of birds. The ſea, daſhing againſt the coaſts, and indenting the gulphs, threw up ſhoals of amphibious monſters, enormous whales, crabs, and turtles, that ſported uncontrolled on the deſert ſhores. Their nature exerted her plaſtic power, inceſſantly producing the gigantic inhabitants of the ocean, and aſſerting the freedom of the earth and the ſea.

But man appeared, and immediately changed the face of North America. He introduced ſymmetry, by the aſſiſtance of all the inſtruments of art. The impenetrable woods were inſtantly cleared, and made room

room for commodious habitations. The wild beaſts were driven away, and flocks of domeſtic animals ſupplied their place; whilſt thorns and briars made way for rich harveſts. The waters forſook part of their domain, and were drained off into the interior parts of the land, or into the ſea, by deep canals. The coaſts were covered with towns, and the bays with ſhips; and thus the new world, like the old, became ſubject to man. What powerful engines have raiſed that wonderful ſtructure of European induſtry and policy? Let us proceed to the particulars.

BOOK

BOOK I.

ENGLISH COLONIES SETTLED AT HUDSON's BAY, NEWFOUNDLAND, NOVA SCOTIA, NEW ENGLAND, NEW YORK, AND NEW JERSEY.

CHAP. I.

Of HUDSON'S BAY.

1. *Climate. Cuſtoms of the inhabitants. Trade.*

IN the remoteſt part ſtands a ſolitary object, diſtinct from the whole, which is called Hudſon's bay. This bay, of about ten degrees in length, is formed by the ocean in the diſtant and northern parts of America. The breadth of the entrance is about ſix leagues; but it is only to be attempted from the beginning of July to the end of September, and is even then extremely dangerous. This danger ariſes from mountains of ice, ſome of which are ſaid to be from 15 to 18 hundred feet thick, and which having been produced by winters of five or ſix years duration in little gulphs conſtantly filled with ſnow, are forced out of them by north-weſt winds, or by ſome other extraordinary cauſe. The beſt way of avoiding them is to keep as near as poſſible to the northern coaſt, which muſt neceſſarily be leſs obſtructed and moſt free by the natural directions of both winds and currents.

The north-weſt wind, which blows almoſt conſtantly in winter, and very often in ſummer, frequently raiſes violent ſtorms within the bay itſelf, which is rendered ſtill more dangerous by the number of ſhoals

ſhoals that are found there. Happily, however, ſmall groups of iſlands are met with at different diſtances, which are of a ſufficient height to afford a ſhelter from the ſtorm. Beſides theſe ſmall Archipelagos, there are in many places large piles of bare rock; but, except the Alga Marina, the bay produces as few vegetables as the other northern ſeas. Throughout all the countries ſurrounding this bay, the ſun never riſes or ſets without forming a great cone of light; this phenomenon is ſucceeded by the Aurora Borealis, which tinges the hemiſphere with coloured rays of ſuch a brilliancy, that the ſplendour of them is not effaced even by that of the full moon. Notwithſtanding this, there is ſeldom a bright ſky. In ſpring and autumn, the air is always filled with thick fogs; and in winter, with an infinite number of ſmall icicles.

Though the heats in the ſummer are pretty conſiderable for ſix weeks or two months, there is ſeldom any thunder or lightning, owing, no doubt, to the great number of ſulphureous exhalations, which however, are ſometimes ſet on fire by the Aurora Borealis; and this light flame conſumes the barks of the trees, but leaves their trunks untouched.

One of the effects of the extreme cold or ſnow that prevails in this climate, is that of turning thoſe animals white in winter, which are naturally brown or grey. Nature has beſtowed upon them all, ſoft, long, and thick furs, the hair of which falls off as the weather grows milder. In moſt of theſe quadrupeds, the feet, the tail, the ears, and generally ſpeaking all thoſe parts in which the circulation is ſlower becauſe they are moſt remote from the heart, are extremely ſhort. Wherever they happen to be ſomewhat longer, they are proportionably well covered. Under this heavy ſky, all liquors become ſolid by freezing, and break whatever veſſels contain them. Even ſpirits of wine loſes its fluidity. It is not uncommon to ſee fragments of large rocks looſened and detached from the great maſs, by the force of the froſt.

froſt. All theſe phenomena, common enough during the whole winter, are much more terrible at the new and full moon, which in theſe regions has an influence upon the weather, the cauſes of which are not known.

In this frozen zone, iron, lead, copper, marble, and a ſubſtance reſembling ſea-coal, have been diſcovered. In other reſpects, the ſoil is extremely barren. Except the coaſts, which are for the moſt part marſhy, where there grows a little graſs and ſome ſoft wood, the reſt of the country offers nothing but very high moſs and a few weak ſhrubs thinly ſcattered.

This ſterility of nature extends itſelf to every thing. The human race are few in number, and ſcarce any of its individuals above four feet high. Their heads bear the ſame enormous proportion to the reſt of their bodies, as thoſe of children do. The ſmallneſs of their feet makes them aukward and tottering in their gait. Small hands and a round mouth, which in Europe are reckoned a beauty, ſeem almoſt a deformity in theſe people, becauſe we ſee nothing here but the effects of a weak organization, and of a cold that contracts and reſtrains the ſprings of growth, and is fatal to the progreſs of animal as well as of vegetable life. Beſides this, all their men, though they have neither hair nor beard, have the appearance of being old. This is partly occaſioned from the formation of their lower lip, which is thick, fleſhy, and projecting beyond the upper. Such are the Eſquimaux, which inhabit not only the coaſt of Labrador, from whence they have taken their name, but likewiſe all that tract of country which extends itſelf from the point of Belle-Iſle to the moſt northern parts of America.

The inhabitants of Hudſon's bay have, like the Greenlanders, a flat face, with ſhort but flattened noſes, the pupil of their eyes yellow and the iris black. Their women have marks of deformity peculiar to their ſex: amongſt others, very long and flabby breaſts. This defect, which is not natural, ariſes from their cuſtom of giving ſuck to their chil-

dren till they are five or ſix years old. The children pull their mothers breaſts with their hands, and almoſt ſuſpend themſelves by them.

It is not true that there are races of the Eſquimaux entirely black, as has been ſince ſuppoſed, and afterwards accounted for; nor that they live under ground. How ſhould they dig into a ſoil, which the cold renders harder than ſtone? How is it poſſible they ſhould live in caverns where they would be infallibly drowned by the firſt melting of the ſnows? What, however, is certain, and almoſt equally ſurpriſing, is, that they ſpend the winter under huts run up in haſte, and made of flints joined together with cements of ice, where they live withour any other fire but that of a lamp hung up in the middle of the ſhed, for the purpoſe of dreſſing their game and the fiſh they feed upon. The heat of their blood, and of their breath, added to the vapour ariſing from this ſmall flame, is ſufficient to make their huts as hot as ſtoves.

The Eſquimaux dwell conſtantly near the ſea, which ſupplies them with all their proviſions. Both their conſtitution and complexion partake of the quality of their food. The fleſh of the ſeal is their food, and the oil of the whale is their drink; which produces in them all an olive complexion, a ſtrong ſmell of fiſh, an oily and tenacious ſweet, and ſometimes a ſort of ſcaly leproſy. This laſt is, probably, the reaſon why the mothers have the ſame cuſtom as the bears of licking their young ones.

This nation, weak and degraded by nature, is notwithſtanding moſt intrepid upon a ſea that is conſtantly dangerous. In boats made and ſewed together in the ſame manner as goat-ſkin bottles, but at the ſame time ſo well cloſed that it is impoſſible for water to penetrate them, they follow the ſhoals of herrings thro' the whole of their polar emigrations, and attack the whales and ſeals at the peril of their lives. One ſtroke of the whale's tail is ſufficient to drown a hundred of them, and the ſeal is armed with teeth to devour thoſe he cannot drown; but the hunger of

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the Eſquimaux is ſuperior to the rage of theſe monſters. They have an inordinate thirſt for the whale's oil; which is neceſſary to preſerve the heat in their ſtomachs, and defend them from the ſeverity of the cold. Indeed whales, men, birds, and all the quadrupeds and fiſh of the north, are ſupplied by nature with a degree of fat which prevents the muſcles from freezing, and the blood from coagulating. Every thing in theſe artict regions is either oily or gummy, and even the trees are reſinous.

The Eſquimaux are notwithſtanding ſubject to two fatal diſorders; the ſcurvy, and the loſs of ſight. The continuation of the ſnows on the ground, joined to the reverberation of the rays of the ſun on the ice, dazzled their eyes in ſuch a manner, that they are almoſt conſtantly obliged to wear ſhades made of very thin wood, through which ſmall apertures for the light have been bored with fiſh-bones. Doomed to a ſix-months night, they never ſee the ſun but obliquely; and then it ſeems rather to blind them, than to give them light. Sight, the moſt delightful bleſſing of nature, is a fatal gift to them, and they are generally deprived of it when young.

A ſtill more cruel evil, which is the ſcurvy, conſumes them by ſlow degrees. It inſinuates itſelf into their blood, changes, thickens, and impoveriſhes the whole maſs. The fogs of the ſea, which they inſpire; the denſe and inelaſtic air they breathe in their huts, which are ſhut up from all communication with the external air; the continued and tedious inactivity of their winters; a mode of life alternately roving and ſedentary; every thing, in ſhort, ſerves to increaſe this dreadful illneſs; which in a little time becomes contagious, and, ſpreading itſelf throughout their habitations, is but too probably tranſmitted by the means of generation.

Notwithſtanding theſe inconveniences, the Eſquimaux is ſo paſſionately fond of his country, that no inhabitant of the moſt favoured ſpot under heaven quits it with more reluctance than he does his frozen

zen deſerts. One of the reaſons of it may be, that he finds it difficult to breathe in a ſofter and cooler climate. The ſky of Amſterdam, Copenhagen, and London, though conſtantly obſcured by thick and fetid vapours, is too clear for an Eſquimaux. Perhaps, too, there may be ſomething in the change of life and manners ſtill more contrary to the health of ſavages than the climate. It is not impoſſible but that the indulgences of an European may be a poiſon to the Eſquimaux.

Such were the inhabitants of the country diſcovered in 1610 by Henry Hudſon. This intrepid mariner, in ſearching after a north-weſt paſſage to the ſouth-ſeas, diſcovered three ſtreights, through which he hoped to find out a new way to Aſia by America. He ſailed boldly into the midſt of the new gulph: and was preparing to explore all its parts, when his treacherous ſhip's company put him into the long-boat, with ſeven others, and left him without either arms or proviſions expoſed to all the dangers both of ſea and land. The barbarians, who refuſed him the neceſſaries of life, could not, however, rob him of the honour of the diſcovery; and the bay which he firſt found out will ever be called by his name.

The miſeries of the civil war which followed ſoon after, had, however, made the Engliſh forget this diſtant country, which had nothing to attract them. More quiet times had not yet brought it to their remembrance, when Groſeillers and Radiſſon, two French Canadians, who had met with ſome diſcontent at home, informed the Engliſh, who were engaged in repairing by trade the miſchiefs of diſcord, of the profits ariſing from furs, and of their claim to the country that furniſhed them. Thoſe who propoſed the buſineſs ſhewed ſo much ability, that they were intruſted with the execution; and the firſt eſtabliſhment they formed ſucceeded ſo well, that it ſurpaſſed their own hopes as well as their promiſes.

This ſucceſs alarmed the French; who were afraid,

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and with reaſon, that moſt of the fine furs which they got from the northern parts of Canada, would be carried to Hudſon's bay. Their alarms were confirmed by the unanimous teſtimony of their Coureurs de Bois, who ſince 1656 had been four times as far as the borders of the ſtrait. It would have been a deſirable thing to have gone by the ſame road to attack the new colony; but the diſtance being thought too conſiderable, notwithſtanding the convenience of the rivers, it was at length determined that the expedition ſhould be made by ſea. The fate of it was truſted to Groſeillers and Radiſſon, who had been eaſily brought back to a regard for their country.

Theſe two bold and reſtleſs men ſailed from Quebec in 1682, upon two veſſels badly fitted out; but on their arrival, finding themſelves not ſtrong enough to attack the enemy, they were contented with erecting a fort in the neighbourhood of that they thought to have taken. From this time there began a rivalſhip between the two companies, one ſettled at Canada, the other in England, for the excluſive trade of the bay, which was conſtantly fed by the diſputes it gave birth to, till at laſt, after each of their ſettlements had been frequently taken by the other, all hoſtilities were terminated by the treaty of Utrecht, which gave up the whole to Great Britain.

Hudſon's Bay, properly ſpeaking, is only a mart for trade. The ſeverity of the climate having deſtroyed all the corn ſown there at different times, has fruſtrated every hope of agriculture, and conſequently of population. Throughout the whole of this extenſive coaſt, there are not more than ninety or a hundred ſoldiers, or factors, compriſed in four bad forts, of which York fort is the principal. Their buſineſs is to receive the furs which the neighbouring ſavages bring in exchange for merchandiſe, of which they have been taught the value and uſe.

Though theſe ſkins are of much more value than thoſe which come out of countries not ſo far north, yet they are cheaper. The ſavages give ten beaver

ſkins

ſkins for a gun, two for a pound of powder, one for four pounds of lead, one for a hatchet, one for ſix knives, two for a pound of glaſs beads, ſix for a cloth coat, five for a petticoat, and one for a pound of ſnuff. Combs, looking-glaſſes, kettles, and brandy, ſell in proportion. As the beaver is the common meaſure of exchange, by another regulation as fraudulent as the firſt, two otter's ſkins and three martins are required inſtead of one beaver. Beſides this tyranny, which is authoriſed, there is another which is at leaſt tolerated, by which the ſavages are conſtantly defrauded in the quality, quantity, and meaſure of what is given them; and the fraud amounts to about one third of the value.

From this regular ſyſtem of impoſition it is eaſy to gueſs that the commerce of Hudſon's bay is a monoply. The capital of the company that is in poſſeſſion of it was originally no more than 10,565 l. 12 s. 6 d. and has been ſucceſſively increaſed to 104,146l. 12s. 6d. This capital brings them in an annual return of forty or fifty thouſand ſkins of beavers or other animals, upon which they make ſo exorbitant a profit, that it excites the jealouſy and clamours of the nation. Two thirds of theſe beautiful furs are either conſumed in kind in the three kingdoms, or made uſe of in the national manufactures. The reſt are carried into Germany, where the climate makes them a valuable commodity.

2. *Whether there is a paſſage at Hudſon's Bay leading to the Eaſt Indies.*

But it is neither the acquiſition of theſe ſavage riches, nor the ſtill greater emoluments that might be drawn from this trade if it were made free, which has fixed the attention of England as well as that of all Europe upon this frozen continent. Hudſon's bay always has been and is ſtill looked upon as the neareſt road from Europe to the Eaſt-Indies, and to the richeſt parts of Aſia.

Cabot

Cabot was the firſt who entertained an idea of a north-weſt paſſage to the ſouth ſeas; but his diſcoveries ended at Newfoundland. After him followed a crowd of Engliſh navigators, many of whom had the glory of giving their names to ſavage coaſts which no mortal had ever viſited before. Theſe bold and memorable expeditions were more brilliant than really uſeful. The moſt fortunate of them did not ever furniſh a freſh conjecture on the end that was propoſed. The Dutch, leſs frequent in their trials, leſs animated in the means by which they purſued them, were of courſe not more ſucceſsful, and the whole began to be treated as a chimæra, when the diſcovery of Hudſon's Bay rekindled all the hopes that were nearly extinguiſhed.

At this period the attempts were renewed with freſh ardour. Thoſe that had been made before in vain by the mother country, now taken up with her own inteſtine commotions, were purſued by New England, whoſe ſituation was favourable to the enterprize. Still, however, for ſome time there were more voyages undertaken than diſcoveries made. The nation was a long time kept in ſuſpenſe by the different accounts of the adventures divided amongſt themſelves. While ſome maintained the poſſibility, others the probability, and others again aſſerted the certainty of the paſſage; the accounts they gave, inſtead of clearing up the point, involved it in ſtill greater darkneſs. Indeed, theſe accounts are ſo full of obſcurity and confuſion, ſo many things are concealed in them, and they diſplay ſuch viſible marks of ignorance and want of veracity, that with the utmoſt deſire of deciding, it is impoſſible to build any thing like a ſolid judgment upon teſtimonies ſo ſuſpicious. At length, the famous expedition of 1746 threw ſome kind of light upon a point which had remained inveloped in darkneſs for two centuries paſt. But upon what grounds have the later navigators taken up better hopes? What are the experiments on which they found their conjectures? Let us proceed

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to give an account of their arguments. There are three facts in natural hiſtory, which henceforward muſt be taken for granted. The firſt is, that the tides come from the ocean, and that they extend more or leſs into the other ſeas, in proportion as their channels communicate with the great reſervoirs by larger or ſmaller openings; whence it follows, that this periodical motion is ſcarce perceptible in the Mediterranean, in the Baltic, and in other gulphs of the ſame nature. A ſecond matter of fact is, that the tides are much later and much weaker in places more remote from the ocean, than in thoſe which are nearer to it. The third fact is, that violent winds, which blow in a direction with the tides, make them riſe above their ordinary boundaries; and that thoſe which blow in a contrary direction retard the motion of the tides, at the ſame time that they diminiſh their ſwell.

From theſe principles, it is moſt certain, that if Hudſon's bay were no more than a gulph incloſed between two continents, and had no communication but with the Atlantic, the tides in it would be very inconſiderable; they would be weaker in proportion as they were further removed from the ſource, and they would be much leſs ſtrong wherever they had to reſiſt oppoſite winds. But it is proved by obſervations made with the greateſt ſkill and preciſion, that the tides are very high throughout the whole of the bay. It is certain that they are higher towards the bottom than even at the very mouth of the bay, or at leaſt in the neighbourhood of it. It is proved, that even this height increaſes whenever the wind blows from a corner oppoſite to the ſtreight. It is, therefore, certain, that Hudſon's bay has a communication with the ocean, beſides that which has been already found out.

Thoſe who have endeavoured to explain theſe very ſtriking facts, by the ſuppoſition of a communication of Hudſon's bay with Baffin's bay, or with Davis's ſtraits, are evidently miſtaken. They would not

ſcruple

ſcruple to allow it, if they only conſidered, that the tides are much lower in Davis's ſtraits, and in Baffin's bay, than in Hudſon's.

But if the tides in Hudſon's bay can come neither from the Atlantic ocean, nor from any other northern ſea, in which they are conſtantly much weaker, it follows that they muſt come from ſome part in the ſouth ſea. And this is ſtill further apparent from another leading fact, which is, that the higheſt tides ever obſerved upon theſe coaſts are always occaſioned by the north-weſt winds, which blow directly againſt the mouth of the ſtraits.

Having thus determined, as much as the nature of the ſubject will permit, the exiſtence of this paſſage ſo long and ſo vainly wiſhed for, the next point is to find out in what part of the bay it is to be expected. Every thing inclines us to think, that the attempts, hitherto made without either choice or method, ought to be directed towards Welcome bay, on the weſtern coaſt. Firſt, the bottom of the ſea is found there at the depth of about eleven fathom; which is an evident ſign that the water comes from ſome ocean, as ſuch a tranſparency is incompatible either with the waters diſcharged from rivers, or with melted ſnow or rain. Secondly, the current keeps this place always free from ice, whilſt all the reſt of the bay is covered with it; and their violence cannot be accounted for but by ſuppoſing them to come from ſome weſtern ſea. Laſtly, the whales, who towards autumn always go in ſearch of the warmeſt climates, are found in great abundance in theſe parts towards the end of ſummer; which would ſeem to indicate, that they have a way of going from thence to the ſouth ſeas, not to the northern ocean.

It is probable, that the paſſage is very ſhort. All the rivers that empty themſelves into the weſtern coaſt of Hudſon's bay are ſmall and ſlow, which ſeems to prove that they do not come from afar; and that conſequently the lands which part the two ſeas are of a ſmall extent. This argument is ſtrengthened by

the height and regularity of the tides. Wherever there is no other difference between the times of the ebb and flow, but that which is occaſioned by the retarded progreſſion of the moon in her return to the meridian, it is a certain ſign that the ocean from whence thoſe tides come is very near. If the paſſage is ſhort, and not very far to the north, as every thing ſeems to promiſe, we may alſo preſume that it is not very difficult. The rapidity of the currents obſervable in theſe latitudes, which do not allow any cakes of ice to continue in them, cannot but give ſome weight to this conjecture.

The diſcoveries that ſtill remain to be made are of ſo much importance, that it would be folly to give them up. If the paſſage ſo long ſought for were once found, communications would be opened between parts of the globe which hitherto ſeem to have been ſeparated by nature from each other. They would ſoon be extended to the continent of the ſouth ſeas, and to all the numerous iſlands ſcattered upon that immenſe ocean. The intercourſe which has ſubſiſted nearly for three centuries between the commercial nations of Europe and the moſt remote parts of India, being happily freed from the inconveniences of a long navigation, would be much briſker, more conſtant, and more advantageous. It is not to be doubted that the Engliſh would be deſirous of ſecuring an excluſive enjoyment of the fruits of their activity and expences. This wiſh would certainly be very natural, and would be very powerfully ſupported. But as the advantages obtained would be of ſuch a nature, that it would be impoſſible always to preſerve the ſole poſſeſſion of it, we may venture to foretel, that all nations muſt in time become partakers of it with them. Whenever this happens, both the ſtraits of Magellan and Cape Horn will be entirely deſerted, and the Cape of Good Hope much leſs frequented. Whatever the conſequences of the diſcovery may be, it is equally for the intereſt and dignity of Great Britain to purſue her attempts, till they are either

either crowned with ſucceſs, or the impoſſibility of ſucceeding is fully demonſtrated. The reſolution ſhe has already taken in 1745 of promiſing a conſiderable reward to the ſeamen who ſhall make this important diſcovery, though it be an equal proof of the wiſdom and generoſity of her councils, is not alone ſufficient to attain the end ſuppoſed. The Engliſh miniſtry cannot be ignorant, that all the efforts made either by government, or individuals, will prove abortive, till ſuch time as the trade to Hudſon's bay ſhall be entirely free. The company in whoſe hands it has been ever ſince 1670, not content with neglecting the chief object of its inſtitution, by taking no ſteps itſelf for the diſcovery of the North weſt paſſage, has thrown every impediment in the way of thoſe who from love of fame, or other motives, have been prompted to this great undertaking. Nothing can ever alter this iniquitous ſpirit, for it is the very ſpirit of monopoly.

CHAP. II.

Of NEWFOUNDLAND.

1. *Deſcription.*

HAPPILY the excluſive privilege which prevails at Hudſon's bay, and ſeems to exclude all nations from the means of acquiring knowledge and riches, does not extend its oppreſſion to Newfoundland. This iſland, ſituated between 46 and 52 degrees of north latitude, is ſeparated from the coaſt of Labrador only by a channel of moderate breadth, known by the name of Belleiſle Straits. It is of a triangular form, and a little more than three hundred leagues in circumference. We can only ſpeak by conjecture of the inland parts of it, from the difficulty of penetrating far into it, and the apparent in-

utility of ſucceeding in the attempt. The little that is known of this ſtrait is, that it is full of very ſteep rocks, mountains covered with bad wood, and ſome very narrow and ſandy valleys. Theſe inacceſſible places are ſtocked with deer, which multiply with the greater eaſe, from the ſecurity of their ſituation. No ſavages have ever been ſeen there except ſome Eſquimaux, who come over from the continent in the hunting ſeaſon. The coaſt abounds with creeks, roads, and harbours; is ſometimes covered with moſs, but more commonly with ſmall pebbles, which ſeem as if they had been placed there with deſign, for the purpoſe of drying the fiſh caught in the neighbourhood. In all the open places, where the flat ſtones reflect the ſun's rays, the heat is exceſſive. The reſt of the country is intenſely cold; leſs ſo, however, from its ſituation, than from the heights, the foreſts, the winds, and above all the vaſt mountains of ice which come out of the northern ſeas, and are ſtopped on theſe coaſts. The ſky towards the north and weſtern parts is conſtantly ſerene; it is much leſs ſo towards the eaſt and ſouth, both of them being too near the great bank, which is enveloped in a perpetual fog.

This iſland was originally diſcovered in 1497, by the Venetian Cabot, at that time in the ſervice of England, who made no ſettlement there. It was preſumed, from the ſeveral voyages made after this, with a view of examining what advantages might be derived from it, that it was fit for nothing but the cod fiſhery, which is very common in that ſea. Accordingly the Engliſh uſed to ſend out at firſt ſmall veſſels in the ſpring, which returned again in autumn with their freight of fiſh both ſalt and freſh. The conſumption of this article became almoſt univerſal, and there was a great demand for it particularly among the Roman Catholics. The Engliſh availed themſelves of this ſuperſtition, to enrich themſelves at the expence of the clergy, who had formerly drawn their wealth from England; and thought of forming

forming ſettlements there. The firſt, that were eſtabliſhed at great intervals from one another, were unſucceſsful, and were all forſaken ſoon after they were founded. The firſt that acquired any conſiſtence was in 1608, the ſucceſs of which raiſed ſuch a ſpirit of emulation, that, within forty years, all the ſpace between Conception-bay and Cape Ras was peopled by a colony amounting to above four thouſand ſouls. Thoſe who were employed in the fiſhery, being forced, both from the nature of their occupations and that of the ſoil, to live at a diſtance from each other, cut paths of communication through the woods. Their general rendezvous was at St. John's; where, in an excellent harbour, protected by two mountains at a very ſmall diſtance from each other, and large enough to contain above two hundred ſhips, they uſed to meet with privateers from the mother country, who carried off the produce of their fiſhery, and gave them other neceſſaries in exchange for it.

The French did not wait for this proſperity of the Engliſh trade, to turn their thoughts to Newfoundland. They had for a long time frequented the ſouthern parts of the i land, where the Malouins in particular came every year to a place they had called the Petit Nord. After this ſome of them fixed without any order upon the coaſt from Cape Ray to Chapeau Rouge; and at length they became numerous enough to form ſomething like a town in the bay of Placentia, where they had every convenience that could make their fiſhery ſucceſsful.

Before the bay is a road of about a league and a half in breadth; not, however, ſufficiently ſheltered from the N. N. W. winds, which blow there with extreme violence. The ſtrait which forms the entrance of the bay is ſo confined by rocks, that only one veſſel can enter at a time, and even that muſt be towed in. The bay itſelf is about eighteen leagues long, and at the extremity of it there is an exceeding ſafe harbour which holds 150 ſhips. Notwithſtanding the advantage of ſuch a ſituation for ſecuring to

France the whole fiſhery of the ſoutheren coaſt of Newfoundland, the miniſtry of Verſailles paid very little attention to it. It was not till 1687 that a ſmall fort was built at the mouth of the ſtrait, in which a garriſon was placed of about fifty men.

Till this period, the inhabitants whom neceſſity had fixed upon this barren and ſavage coaſt had been happily forgotten; but from that time began a ſyſtem of oppreſſion which continued increaſing every day from the repaciouſneſs of the ſucceſſive governors. This tyranny, by which the coloniſts were prevented from acquiring that degree of competency that was neceſſary to enable them to purſue their labours with ſucceſs, muſt alſo hinder them from increaſing their numbers. The French fiſhery, therefore, could never proſper as that of the Engliſh. Notwithſtanding this, Great Britain did not forget, at the treaty of Utrecht, the inroads that had ſo often been made upon their territories by their enterprizing neighbours, who, ſupported by the Canadians accuſtomed to expeditions and to the fatigues of the chace, trained up in the art of buſh-fighting, and exerciſed in ſudden attacks, had ſeveral times carried devaſtation into her ſettlements. This was ſufficient to induce her to demand the entire poſſeſſion of the iſland, and the misfortunes of the times obliged the French to ſubmit to this ſacrifice; not, however, without reſerving to themſelves the right of fiſhing not only on one part of the iſland, but alſo on the Great Bank, which was conſidered as belonging to it.

2. *Fiſheries.*

The fiſh which makes theſe latitudes ſo famous, is the cod. They are never above three feet long, and often leſs; but there are no fiſh in the whole ocean whoſe mouth is ſo large in proportion to their ſize, or which are ſo voracious. Broken pieces of earthen ware, iron, and glaſs, are often found in their bellies.

bellies. The ſtomach, indeed, does not digeſt theſe hard ſubſtances, as it hath long been thought; but it hath the power of inverting itſelf, like a pocket, and thus diſcharges whatever loads it.

The cod fiſh is found in the northern ſeas of Europe. The fiſhery is carried on by thirty Engliſh, ſixty French, and 150 Dutch veſſels, one with another from 80 to 100 tons burden. Their competitors are the Iriſh, and eſpecially the Norwegians. The latter are employed, before the fiſhing ſeaſon, in collecting upon the coaſt the eggs of the cod, which is a bait neceſſary to catch pilchards. They ſell, *communibus annis*, from twenty to twenty-two thouſand tons of this fiſh, at 7 s. 10 d. half-penny per ton. If it could be diſpoſed of, a great deal more would be caught; for an able naturaliſt, who has had the patience to count the eggs of one ſingle cod, has found 9,344,000 of them. This profuſion of nature muſt ſtill be increaſed at Newfoundland, where the cod fiſh is found in infinitely greater plenty.

The fiſh of Newfoundland is alſo more delicate, though not ſo white; but it is not an object of trade when freſh, and only ſerves for the food of thoſe who are employed on the fiſhery. When it is ſalted and dried, or only ſalted, it becomes an uſeful article to a great part of Europe and America. That which is only ſalted is called green cod, and is caught upon the great bank.

This ſlip of land is one of thoſe mountains formed under water by the earth which the ſea is continually waſhing away from the continent. Both its extremities terminate ſo much in a point, that it is difficult to aſſign the preciſe extent of it; but it is generally reckoned to be 160 leagues long and 90 broad. Towards the middle of it, on the European ſide, is a kind of bay, which has been called the Ditch. Throughout all this ſpace, the depth of water is very different; in ſome places there are only five, in others above ſixty fathom. The ſun ſcarce ever ſhews itſelf there, and the ſky is generally covered with a thick

cold

cold fog. The waves are always agitated, and the winds always impetuous around it, which muſt be owing to the ſea being irregularly driven forward by currents, which bear ſometimes on one ſide, ſometimes on the other, and ſtrike againſt the borders, which are every where perpendicular, and repel them with equal violence. This is moſt likely to be the true cauſe; becauſe on the bank itſelf, at ſome diſtance from the coaſt, it is as quiet as in a bay, except when there happens to be a forced wind which comes from a greater diſtance.

From the middle of July to the latter end of Auguſt there is no cod found either upon the great bank or any of the ſmall ones near it; but all the reſt of the year the fiſhery is carried on. The ſhips employed in it are commonly from 50 to 150 tons, and carry not leſs than twelve or more than twenty-five men aboard. Theſe fiſhermen are provided with lines, and before they ſet to work, catch a fiſh called the caplin, which is a bait for the cod.

Previous to their entering upon the fiſhery, they build a gallery on the outſide of the ſhip, which reaches from the main maſt to the ſtern, and ſometimes the whole length of it. This gallery is furniſhed with barrels, of which the top is beaten out. The fiſhermen place themſelves within theſe, and are ſheltered from the weather by a pitched covering faſtened to the barrels. As ſoon as they catch a cod, they cut out its tongue, and give it to one of the boys to carry to a perſon appointed for the purpoſe, who immediately ſtrikes off the head, plucks out the liver and entrails, and then lets it fall thro' a ſmall hatchway between the decks; when another man takes it, and draws out the bone as far as the navel, and then lets it ſink through another hatchway into the hold; where it is ſalted and ranged in piles. The perſon who ſalts it, is attentive to leave ſalt enough between the rows of fiſh which form the piles, to prevent their touching each other, and yet not to leave too much, as either exceſs would ſpoil the cod.

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In the right of nature, the fiſhing upon the great bank ought to have been common to all mankind: notwithſtanding which, the two powers who have colonies in North-America have made very little difficulty of appropriating it to themſelves; and Spain, who alone could have any claim to it, and who from the number of her monks might have pleaded the neceſſity of aſſerting it, entirely gave up the matter at the laſt peace; ſince which time the Engliſh and French are the only nations who frequent theſe latitudes.

In 1768, France ſet out 145 ſhips; the expence of which is valued at 111,431 *l.* 5 *s.* Theſe veſſels, which carried in all 8830 tons, were manned by 1700 men; who upon an average, and according to calculations aſcertained by being often repeated, muſt have caught each 700 fiſh; ſo that the whole of the fiſhery muſt have produced 1,190,000.

Theſe cod are divided into three ſeparate claſſes; the firſt conſiſts of thoſe which are twenty-four inches in length or upwards, the ſecond comprehends thoſe which meaſure from nineteen to twenty-four, and the third takes in all that are under nineteen inches. If the fiſhery has yielded, as it commonly does, two fifths of good fiſh, two fifths of moderate fiſh, and one fifth of bad, and if the fiſh has been ſold at the common price, which is 6 *l.* 11 *s.* 3 *d.* the hundred weight, the produce of the whole fiſhery will amount to 45,937 *l.* 10 *s.* The hundred weight is compoſed of 136 cod of the firſt quality, and of 272 of the ſecond; which two ſorts taken together ſell for 7 *l.* 17 *s.* 6 *d.* the hundred. Only 136 cod are required to make up the hundred weight of the third claſs; but this hundred weight ſells only for one third of the other, and is worth only 2 *l.* 12 *s.* 6 *d.* when the firſt is worth 7 *l.* 17 *s.* 6 *d.* Conſequently the 1,190,000 cod really caught, and reduced in this manner, make only 700,000 cod, which at 6 *l.* 11 *s.* 3 *d.* the hundred weight, which is the mean price of the three ſorts of fiſh, will produce only 45,937 *l.* 10 *s.* Out of this the crew muſt receive

receive for their ſhare, which is one fifth, 9,187 *l.* 10 *s.* Conſequently there remains only 36,750 *l.* profit for the undertakers. This is not ſufficient, as will be eaſily made evident. Firſt, we muſt deduct the expences of unloading; which, for the 145 ſhips, cannot be reckoned at leſs than 380 *l.* 12 *s.* 6 *d.* The inſurance of 111,431 *l.* 5 *s.* at five per cent. muſt amount to 5,571 *l.* 11 *s.* 3 *d.* As much alſo muſt be deducted for the intereſt of the money. The value of the ſhips muſt be eſtimated at two thirds of the capital advanced, and will therefore be 74,287 *l.* 10 *s.* If we allow no more than five per cent. for the annual repair of the ſhips, we ſhall ſtill be obliged to ſubtract 3,714 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.* from the profits. All theſe ſums added together make a loſs of 15,631 *l.* 17 *s.* 6 *d.* which being aſſeſſed upon a capital of 111,431 *l.* 5 *s.* amounts to a loſs of 12 *s.* 3 *d.* farthing per cent.

The French miniſtry muſt, therefore, either abſolutely give up the fiſhery of the green cod, which is conſumed in the capital, and in the northern provinces of France, or muſt take off the enormous duties which are at preſent impoſed upon this kind of conſumption. If they delay much longer to ſacrifice this inſignificant portion of the public revenue to ſo valuable a branch of trade, they will ſoon have the mortification to ſee the revenue diſappear with the trade that produced it. The habit of trading, the hopes of amendment, the averſion that traders have for ſelling their ſhips and ſtock under prime coſt; theſe are the only motives that induce them ſtill to continue the cod fiſhery: motives which muſt certainly have an end; and, if we may judge from the general appearance of diſſatisfaction, that end is not very far off.

The Engliſh, the produce of whoſe fiſhery is ſubject to no tax, have not the ſame reaſons for giving it up. They have alſo another advantage; which is, that not coming from Europe, as their competitors do, but only from Newfoundland or other

places

places almoſt as near, they can make uſe of very ſmall veſſels, which are eaſily managed, are not much raiſed above the water, and where ſails may be brought level with the deck, ſo that being little expoſed, even to the moſt violent winds, their work is ſeldom interrupted by the roughneſs of the weather. Beſides, they do not, as other ſeamen, loſe their time in procuring baits, which they bring along with them. In a word, their ſailors are more inured to the fatigues, more accuſtomed to the cold, and more ready at the buſineſs.

The Engliſh, however, attend very little to the fiſhery of the great cod; becauſe they have no mart for diſpoſing of it. In this branch they do not ſell half ſo much as their rivals. As their cod is prepared with very little care, they ſeldom make up a complete cargo of it. For fear of its ſpoiling, they commonly quit the Great Bank, with two thirds and very often with not more than half their lading, which they ſell to the Spaniſh and Portugueſe, and amongſt their own countrymen. But they make themſelves amends for this trifling exportation of the green cod, by the great ſuperiority they have acquired in all markets for the dry cod.

This branch of trade is carried on in two different ways. That which is called the Wandering Fiſhery, belongs to veſſels which ſail every year from Europe to Newfoundland, at the end of March, or in April. As they come near the iſland, they frequently meet with a quantity of ice, which the northern currents puſh towards the ſouth, which is broken to pieces by repeated ſhocks, and melts ſooner or later at the return of the heats. Theſe cakes of ice are frequently a league in circumference; they are as high as the loftieſt mountains, and reach to above ſixty or eighty fathoms under water. When they are joined to leſſer pieces, they ſometimes occupy a ſpace of a hundred leagues in length, and twenty-five or thirty in breadth. Intereſt, which obliges the mariners to come to their landings as ſoon as poſſible, that they

may

may chuſe the harbours moſt favourable to the fiſhery, makes them brave the rigour of the ſeaſons and of the elements, which all conſpire againſt human induſtry. Neither the moſt formidable rampart erected by military art, nor the dreadful cannonade of a beſieged town, nor the terrors of the moſt ſkilful and obſtinate ſea-fight, require ſo much intrepidity and experience to encounter, as do theſe enormous floating bulwarks which the ſea oppoſes to theſe ſmall fleets of fiſhermen. But the moſt inſatiable of all paſſions, the thirſt of gold, ſurmounts every obſtacle, and carries the mariner acroſs theſe mountains of ice to the ſpot where the ſhips are to take in their lading.

The firſt thing to be done after landing is to cut wood and erect ſcaffolds. Theſe labours employ every body. When they are finiſhed, the company divide: one half of the crew ſtays aſhore to cure the fiſh; and the other goes on board in ſmall boats, with three men in thoſe which are intended for the fiſhery of the caplin, and four for the cod. Theſe laſt, which are the moſt numerous, ſail before it is light, generally at the diſtance of three, four, or five leagues from the coaſt, and return in the evening to the ſcaffolds near the ſea ſide, where they depoſite the produce of the day.

When one man has taken off the cod's head and emptied the body, he gives it to another, who ſlices it and puts in ſalt, where it is left till it is quite dry. It is then heaped up in piles, and left for ſome days to exſude. It is then again laid on the ſtrand, where it continues drying, and takes the colour we ſee it have in Europe.

There are no fatigues whatever to be compared with the labours of this fiſhery, which hardly leave thoſe who work at it four hours reſt in the night. Happily, the ſalubrity of the climate keeps up the health of the people againſt ſuch ſevere trials; and theſe labours would be thought nothing of, if they were rewarded by the produce.

But

But there are ſome harbours where the ſtrand is at ſo great a diſtance from the ſea, that a great deal of time is loſt in getting to them; and others, in which the bottom is of ſolid rock, and without varech, ſo that the fiſh do not frequent them. There are others again, where the fiſh grow yellow from a mixture of freſh water with the ſalt; and ſome, in which it is burned up by the reverberation of the ſun's rays reflected from the mountains. Even in the moſt favourable harbours, the people are not always ſure of a ſucceſsful fiſhery. The fiſh cannot abound equally in all parts; it is ſometimes found to the north, ſometimes to the ſouth, and at other times in the middle of the coaſt, according as it is driven by the winds or attracted by the caplin. The fiſhermen, who happen to fix at a diſtance from the places which the fiſh may chuſe to frequent, are very unfortunate; for their expences are all thrown away by the impoſſibility of following the fiſh with all that is requiſite for the fiſhery.

The fiſhery ends about the beginning of September, becauſe at that time the ſun is no longer powerful enough to dry the fiſh; but when it has been ſucceſsful, the managers give over before that time, and make the beſt of their way either to the Caribbees, or to the Roman Catholic ſtates in Europe, that they may not be deprived of the advantages of the firſt market, which might be loſt by an over ſtock.

In 1768, France ſent out in this trade 114 veſſels, carrying in all 15,590 tons; the prime coſt of which, together with the firſt expences of ſetting out, had amounted to 247,668*l.* 15*s.* The united crews, half of which were employed in taking the fiſh, and the other half in curing it, conſiſted of 8022 men. Every fiſherman muſt have taken for his ſhare 6000 cod, and conſequently the produce of the whole muſt have been 24,066,000 cod. Experience ſhews that there are 125 cod to each quintal. Conſequently 24,066,000 muſt have made 162,528 quintals. Each quintal upon an average ſold at about 14*s.* 5*d.*

which makes for the whole ſale 138,875 *l.* 17 *s.* 2 *d.* three farthings. As every hundred quintal of cod yields one barrel of oil, 192,528 quintals muſt have yielded 1925 barrels, which at 5 *l.* 5 *s.* a barrel, makes 10,106 *l.* 5 *s.* Add to theſe, the profits of freight made by the ſhips in returning home from the ports where they ſold their cargoes, which are eſtimated at 8662 *l.* 10 *s.* and the total profits of the fiſhery will not be found to have amounted to more than 157,644 *l.* 12 *s.* 2 *d.* three farthings.

We may ſpare our readers a detail of the expences of unloading, which are as troubleſome in their minuteneſs as in their inſignificancy. The calculations of theſe have been made with the greateſt care and attention, and the accounts confirmed by very intelligent and diſintereſted men, who from their profeſſions muſt have been the proper judges of this matter. They amount in the whole to 30,436 *l.* 10 *s.* 9 *d.* ſo that the neat produce of the fiſhery amounted only to 127,208 *l.* 11 *s.* 3 *d.* halfpenny.

From theſe profits the inſurance-money muſt be deducted, which at 6 per cent. upon a capital of 247,668 *l.* 15 *s.* amounts to 14,860 *l.* 2 *s.* 6 *d.* We muſt alſo reckon the intereſt of the money; making at 5 per cent. 12,383 *l.* 8 *s.* 9 *d.* Neither muſt we omit the wear of the ſhips; the prime coſt of which, making half the whole capital, muſt be ſet down at 123,834 *l.* 7 *s.* 6 *d.* This wear therefore, which cannot be reckoned at leſs than 6 per cent. muſt amount to 6191 *l.* 14 *s.* 4 *d.* halfpenny. Admitting all theſe circumſtances, which indeed cannot be called in queſtion, it follows that the French have loſt upon this fiſhery, in 1768, 30,061 *l.* 1 *s.* 8 *d.* and conſequently 10 *s.* 7 *d.* three-eights per cent. of their capital.

Such loſſes, which unfortunately have been but too often repeated, will wean the nation more and more from this ruinous branch of trade. Individuals who ſtill carry it on, will ſoon give it up; and it is even probable, that, in imitation of the Engliſh, they would have done ſo already, if like them they had been

been able to make themſelves amends by the ſtationary fiſhery.

By Stationary Fiſhery, we are to underſtand that which is made by the Europeans who have ſettlements on thoſe coaſts of America where the cod is moſt plentiful. It is infinitely more profitable than the wandering fiſhery, becauſe it requires much leſs expence, and may be continued much longer. Theſe advantages the French enjoyed as long as they remained peaceable poſſeſſors of Acadia, Cape Breton, Canada, and part of Newfoundland. They have loſt them one after another by the errors of government; and, from the wreck of theſe riches, have only preſerved a right of ſalting and drying their fiſh to the north of Newfoundland, from cape Bona Viſta to Point Rich. All the fixed eſtabliſhments left by the peace of 1763, are reduced to the iſland of St Peters, and the two iſlands of Miquelon, which they are not even at liberty to build fortifications upon. There are 800 inhabitants at St Peters, not more than one hundred at great Miquelon, and only one family on the ſmaller. The fiſhery, which is extremely convenient upon the two firſt, is entirely impracticable on the leſſer iſland; but this laſt ſupplies them both with wood, and particularly St Peters, which had none of its own. Nature, however, has made amends for this deficiency at St Peters, by an excellent harbour, which indeed is the only one in this ſmall archipelago. In 1768, they took 24,390 quintals of cod: but this quantity will not much increaſe: becauſe the Engliſh not only refuſe the French the liberty of fiſhing in the narrow channel which ſeparates theſe iſlands from the ſouthern coaſts of Newfoundland, but have even ſeized ſome of the ſloops which attempted it.

This ſeverity, which is not warranted by treaty, and only maintained by force, is rendered ſtill more odious by the extenſiveneſs of their own poſſeſſions, which reach to all the iſlands where the fiſh is to be found. Their principal ſettlement is at Newfoundland, where there are about 8000 Engliſh, who are

all employed in the fiſhery. No more than nine or ten ſhips a-year are ſent out from the mother country for this purpoſe; and there are ſome few more which engage in other articles of commerce; but the greater part only exchange the productions of Europe for fiſh, or carry off the fruit of the induſtry of the inhabitants.

Before 1755, the fiſheries of the two rival nations were nearly equal, from their own accounts; with this difference only, that France, on account of its population and religion, conſumed more at home, and ſold leſs: but ſince ſhe has loſt her poſſeſſions in North America, one year with another, the two fiſheries, that is the Stationary and the Wandering, united, have not yielded more than 216,918 quintals of dry cod; which is barely ſufficient for the conſumption of its ſouthern provinces at home, and of courſe admits of no exportation to the colonies.

It may be aſſerted, that the rival nation, on the contrary, has increaſed its fiſhery two thirds ſince its conqueſts, making in all 651,115 quintals; the profits of which, valuing each quintal at no more than 12 *s.* 3 *d.* a difference owing to its being cured with leſs care than the French fiſh, will amount to 398,807 *l.* 6 *s.* 6 *d.* One fourth of this is ſufficient for the conſumption of Great Britain and her colonies; conſequently what is ſold in Spain, Portugal, and all the ſugar-iſlands, amounts to a ſum of 299,105 *l.* 9 *s.* 10 *d.* halfpenny returned to the mother country either in ſpecie or commodities. This object of exportation would have been ſtill more conſiderable, if, when the court of London made the conqueſt of Cape Breton and St John's, they had not been ſo inhuman as to drive out the French whom they found ſettled there; who have never yet been replaced, and probably never will be. The ſame bad policy has alſo been followed in Nova Scotia.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Of NOVA SCOTIA.

1. *The French give it up to England, after having been a long time in poſſeſſion of it themſelves.*

NOVA SCOTIA, by which is at preſent to be underſtood all the coaſt of 300 leagues in length contained between the limits of New England and the ſouth coaſt of the river St. Lawrence, ſeemed at firſt to have comprehended only the great triangular peninſula lying nearly in the middle of this ſpace. This peninſula, which the French called Acadie, is extremely well ſituated for the ſhips which come from the Caribbees to water at. It offers them a great number of excellent ports in which ſhips may enter and go out of with all winds. There is a great quantity of cod upon the coaſt, and ſtill more upon ſmall banks at the diſtance of a few leagues. The ſoil, which is very gravelly, is extremely convenient for drying the cod: it abounds beſides with good wood, and land fit for ſeveral ſorts of cultivation, and extremely well ſituated for the fur trade of the neighbouring continent. Though this climate is in the temperate zone, the winters are long and ſevere; and they are followed by ſudden and exceſſive heats, to which generally ſucceed very thick fogs, which laſt a long time. Theſe circumſtances make this rather a diſagreeable country, tho' it cannot be reckoned an unwholeſome one.

It was in 1604 that the French ſettled in Acadie, four years before they had built the ſmalleſt hut in Canada. Inſtead of fixing towards the eaſt of the peninſula, where they would have had larger ſeas, an eaſy navigation, and plenty of cod, they choſe a ſmall bay, afterwards called the French bay, which had none of theſe advantages. It has been ſaid,

that they were induced by the beauty of Port-Royal, where a thouſand ſhips may ride in ſafety from every wind, where there is an excellent bottom, and at all times four or five fathom of water, and eighteen at the entrance. It is moſt probable that the founders of this colony were led to chuſe this ſituation, from its vicinity to the countries abounding in furs, of which the excluſive trade had been granted to them. This conjecture is confirmed by the following circumſtance: That both the firſt monopolizers, and thoſe who ſucceeded them, took the utmoſt pains to divert the attention of their countrymen, whom reſtleſſneſs or neceſſity brought into theſe regions, from the clearing of the woods, the breeding of cattle, from fiſhing, and from every kind of culture; chuſing rather to engage the induſtry of theſe adventurers in hunting, or in trading with the ſavages.

The miſchiefs ariſing from a falſe ſyſtem of adminiſtration at length diſcovered the fatal effects of excluſive charters. It would be an inſult to the truth and dignity of hiſtory to ſay that this happened in France from any attention to the common rights of the nation, at a time when theſe rights were moſt openly violated. This ſacred tie, which alone can ſecure the ſafety of the people, while it gives a ſanction to the power of kings, was never known in France. But in the moſt abſolute government a ſpirit of ambition ſometimes affects what in equitable and moderate ones is done from principles of juſtice. The miniſters of Lewis XIV. who wiſhed to make their maſter reſpectable that they might reflect ſome dignity on themſelves, perceived that they ſhould not ſucceed without the ſupport of riches; and that a people to whom nature has not given any mines, cannot acquire wealth but by agriculture and commerce. Both theſe reſources had been hitherto choked up in the colonies by the reſtraints laid upon all things from an improper interference. Theſe impediments were at laſt removed; but Acadia either knew not how, or was not able, to make uſe of this liberty.

This

This colony was yet in its infancy, when the ſettlement which has ſince become ſo famous under the name of New-England was firſt made in its neighbourhood. The rapid ſucceſs of the cultures in this new colony did not much attract the notice of the French. This kind of proſperity did not excite any jealouſy between the two nations. But when they began to ſuſpect that there was likely to be a competition for the beaver trade and furs, they endeavoured to ſecure to themſelves the ſole property of it; and they were unfortunate enough to ſucceed.

At their firſt arrival in Acadia, they had found the peninſula, as well as the foreſts of the neighbouring continent, peopled with ſmall nations of ſavages who went under the general name of Abenakies. Though equally fond of war as other ſavage nations, they were, however, more ſociable in their manners. The miſſionaries, eaſily inſinuating themſelves amongſt them, had ſo far inculcated their tenets, as to make enthuſiaſts of them. At the ſame time that they taught them their religion, they inſpired them with that hatred which they themſelves entertained for the Engliſh name. This fundamental article of their new worſhip, being that which moſt exerted its influence on their ſenſes, and the only one that favoured their paſſion for war; they adopted it with all the rage that was natural to them. They not only refuſed to make any exchange with the Engliſh, but alſo frequently attacked and plundered their ſettlements. Their attacks became more frequent, more obſtinate, and more regular, ſince they had choſen St Caſteins, formerly captain of the regiment of Carignan, for their commander; he having ſettled among them, married one of their women, and conforming in every reſpect to their mode of life.

When the Engliſh ſaw that all efforts either to reconcile the ſavages, or to deſtroy them in their foreſts, were ineffectual, they fell upon Acadia, which they

they looked upon with reaſon as the only cauſe of all theſe calamities. Whenever the leaſt hoſtility took place between the two mother countries, the peninſula was attacked. Having no defence from Canada, from which it was too far diſtant, and very little from Port-royal, which was only ſurrounded by a few weak palliſadoes, it was conſtantly taken. It undoubtedly afforded ſome ſatisfaction to the New-Englanders to ravage this colony, and to retard its progreſs; but ſtill this was not ſufficient to diſpel the ſuſpicions excited by a nation almoſt more formidable by what ſhe is able to do, than by what ſhe really does. Obliged as they were, however unwillingly, to reſtore their conqueſt at each treaty of peace, they waited with impatience till Great Britain ſhould acquire ſuch a ſuperiority as would enable her to diſpenſe with this reſtitution. The end of the war on account of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion brought on the deciſive moment; and the court of Verſailles was for ever deprived of a poſſeſſion of which it had never known the importance.

The ardour which the Engliſh had ſhewn for the poſſeſſion of this territory did not manifeſt itſelf afterwards in the care they took to maintain or to improve it. Having built a very ſlight fortification at Port-royal, which had taken the name of Annapolis in honour of Queen Anne, they contented themſelves with putting a very ſmall garriſon in it. The indifference ſhewn by the government infected the nation, a circumſtance not uſual in a free country. Not more than five Engliſh families came over to Acadia, which ſtill remained inhabited by the firſt coloniſts; who were only perſuaded to ſtay upon a promiſe made them of never being compelled to bear arms againſt their ancient country. Such was the attachment which the French then had for the honour of their country. Cheriſhed by the government, reſpected by foreign nations, and attached to their king by a ſeries of proſperities which had rendered them illuſtrious, and aggrandized them, they were inſpired with

that

that ſpirit of patriotiſm which ariſes from ſucceſs. They conſidered it as glorious to bear the name of Frenchmen, and could not think of foregoing the title. The Acadians, therefore, who, in ſubmitting to a new yoke, had ſworn never to bear arms againſt their former ſtandards, were called the French Neutrals.

There were twelve or thirteen hundred of them ſettled in the capital, the reſt were diſperſed in the neighbouring country. No magiſtrate was ever ſet over them; and they were never acquainted with the laws of England. No rents or taxes of any kind were ever exacted from them. Their new ſovereign ſeemed to have forgotten them; and he himſelf was a total ſtranger to them.

2. *Manners of the French who remained ſubject to the Engliſh government in Nova Scotia.*

Hunting and fiſhing, which had formerly been the delight of the colony, and might have ſtill ſupplied it with ſubſiſtence, had no further attraction for a ſimple and quiet people, and gave way to agriculture. It had been eſtabliſhed in the marſhes and the low lands by repelling the ſea and rivers, which covered theſe plains, with dikes. Theſe grounds yielded fifty for one at firſt, and afterwards fifteen or twenty for one at leaſt. Wheat and oats ſucceeded beſt in them; but they likewiſe produced rye, barley, and maize. There were alſo potatoes in great plenty, the uſe of which was become common.

At the ſame time the immenſe meadows were covered with numerous flocks. They computed as much as ſixty thouſand head of horned cattle; and moſt families had ſeveral horſes, though the tillage was carried on by oxen. The habitations, built all of wood, were extremely convenient, and furniſhed as neatly as a ſubſtantial farmer's houſe in Europe. They bred a great deal of poultry of all kinds, which made

made a variety in their food for the moſt part wholeſome and plentiful. Their common drink was beer and cyder, to which they ſometimes added rum. Their uſual clothing was in general the produce of their own flax, or the fleeces of their own ſheep. With theſe they made common linens and coarſe cloths. If any of them had a deſire for articles of greater luxury, they drew them from Annapolis or Louiſbourg, and gave in exchange corn, cattle, or furs.

The neutral French had nothing elſe to give their neighbours, and made ſtill fewer exchanges among themſelves, becauſe each ſeparate family was able and had been uſed to provide for its own wants. They, therefore, knew nothing of paper-currency, which was ſo common throughout the reſt of North-America. Even the ſmall quantity of ſpecie which had ſlipped into the colony did not inſpire that activity in which conſiſts its real value.

Their manners were of courſe extremely ſimple. There never was a cauſe, either civil or criminal, of importance enough to be carried before the court of judicature eſtabliſhed at Annapolis. Whatever little differences aroſe from time to time among them were amicably adjuſted by their elders. All their public acts were drawn by their paſtors, who had likewiſe the keeping of their wills, for which and their religious ſervices the inhabitants paid a twenty-ſeventh part of their harveſt.

Theſe were always plentiful enough to afford more means than there were objects for generoſity. Real miſery was untirely unknown, and benevolence prevented the demands of poverty. Every misfortune was relieved, as it were, before it could be felt, without oſtentation on the one hand, and without meanneſs on the other. It was in ſhort a ſociety of brethren, every individual of which was equally ready to give and to receive what he thought the common right of mankind.

So perfect a harmony naturally prevented all thoſe

thoſe connections of gallantry which are ſo often fatal to the peace of families. There never was an inſtance in this ſociety of an unlawful commerce between the two ſexes. This evil was prevented by early marriages; for no one paſſed his youth in a ſtate of celibacy. As ſoon as a young man came to the proper age, the community built him a houſe, broke up the lands about it, ſowed them, and ſupplied them with all the neceſſaries of life for a twelvemonth. Here he received the partner whom he had choſen, and who brought him her portion in flocks. This new family grew and proſpered like the others. In 1749, all together made a population of eighteen thouſand ſouls.

At this period Great Britain perceived of what conſequence the poſſeſſion of Acadia might be to her commerce. The peace, which neceſſarily left a great number of men without employment, furniſhed an opportunity, by the diſbanding of the troops, for peopling and cultivating a vaſt and fertile territory. The Britiſh miniſtry offered particular advantages to all who would go over and ſettle in Acadia. Every ſoldier, ſailor, and workman, was to have fifty acres of land himſelf, and ten for every perſon he carried over in his family. All non-commiſſioned officers were allowed eighty for themſelves, and fifty for their wives and children; enſigns, 200; lieutenants, 300; captains, 460; and all officers of a higher rank, 600; together with thirty for each of their dependents. The land was to be tax-free for the firſt ten years, and never to pay above one ſhilling for fifty acres. Beſides this, the government engaged to advance or reimburſe the expences of paſſage, to build houſes, to furniſh all the neceſſary inſtruments for fiſhery or agriculture, and to defray the expences of ſubſiſtence for the firſt year. Theſe encouragements determined three thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty perſons, in the month of May 1749, to go to America, rather than run the riſk of ſtarving in Europe.

The new colony was intended to form an eſtabliſhment to the ſouth-eaſt of Acadia, in a place which the

the ſavages had formerly called Chebucto, and the Engliſh Halifax. This ſituation was preferred to ſeveral others where the ſoil was better, for the ſake of eſtabliſhing in its neighbourhood an excellent cod fiſhery, and fortifying one of the fineſt harbours in America. But as it was the ſpot moſt favourable for the chace, the Engliſh were obliged to diſpute it with the Micmac Indians, who moſtly frequented it. Theſe ſavages defended with obſtinacy a territory they held from nature; and it was not till after very great loſſes that the Engliſh drove them out from their poſſeſſions.

This war was not entirely finiſhed, when there was ſome agitation diſcovered among the neutral French. A people, whoſe manners were ſo ſimple, and who enjoyed ſuch liberty, could not but perceive that it was impoſſible there ſhould be any ſerious thoughts in ſettling in countries ſo near to them without their independence being affected by it. To this apprehenſion was added that of ſeeing their religion in danger. Their prieſts, either heated by their own enthuſiaſm, or ſecretly inſtigated by the governors of Canada, perſuaded them to credit every thing they choſe to ſuggeſt againſt the Engliſh, whom they called Heretics. This word, which has ſo powerful an influence on deluded minds, determined this happy American colony to quit their habitations and remove to New France, where they were offered lands. This reſolution many of them executed immediately, without conſidering the conſequences of it; the reſt were preparing to follow, as ſoon as they had provided for their ſafety. The Engliſh government, either from policy or caprice, determined to prevent them by an act of treachery, always baſe and cruel in thoſe to whom power affords milder methods. Under a pretence of exacting a renewal of the oath which they had taken at the time of their becoming Engliſh ſubjects, they aſſembled thoſe together who were not yet gone; and when they had collected them, immediately embarked them

them on board of ſhips, which tranſported them to the other Engliſh colonies, where the greater part of them died of grief and vexation rather than want.

Such are the fruits of national jealouſies, of that rapaciouſneſs inherent to all governments which inceſſantly preys both upon mankind and upon land! What an enemy loſes is reckoned a gain; what he gains, is looked upon as a loſs. When a town cannot be taken, it is ſtarved; when it cannot be maintained, it is burnt to aſhes, or its foundation raſed. Rather than ſurrender, a ſhip or a fortification is blown up by powder and by mines. A deſpotic government ſeparates its enemies from its ſlaves by immenſe deſerts, to prevent the eruptions of the one and the emigrations of the other.

Thus Spain choſe rather to make a wilderneſs of her own country, and a grave of America, than to divide its riches with any other of the European nations. The Dutch have been guilty of every public and private crime to deprive other commercial nations of the ſpice-trade. They have oftentimes even thrown whole cargoes into the ſea, rather than they would ſell them at a low price. France rather choſe to give up Louiſiana to the Spaniards, than to let it fall into the hands of the Engliſh; and England deſtroyed the French veſſels, to prevent their returning to France. Can we aſſert, after this, that policy and ſociety were inſtituted for the happineſs of mankind? Yes, they were inſtituted to ſcreen the wicked man, and to ſecure the man in power.

3. *Preſent ſtate of Nova Scotia.*

SINCE the emigration of a people who owed their happineſs to their virtuous obſcurity, Nova Scotia has been but thinly inhabited. It ſeems as if the envy that depopulated the country had blaſted it. At leaſt the puniſhment of the injuſtice falls upon the authors of it; for there is not a ſingle inhabitant

to be ſeen upon all that length of coaſt between the river St Lawrence and the peninſula; nor do the rocks, the ſands, and marſhes, with which it is at preſent covered, make it probable that it ever will be peopled. The cod, indeed, which abounds in ſome of its bays, draws every year a ſmall number of fiſhermen during the ſeaſon.

There are only three ſettlements in the reſt of the province. Annapolis, the moſt ancient of them, waits for freſh inhabitants to take the place of the unhappy Frenchmen who were driven from it; and it ſeems to promiſe them rich returns from the fertility of her ſoil.

Lunenburgh, the ſecond ſettlement, was founded a few years ago by 800 Germans come from Halifax. At firſt, it did not promiſe much ſucceſs; but it is conſiderably improved by the unremitted induſtry of that warlike and wiſe people, who, contented with defending their own territory, ſeldom go out of it, but to cultivate others which they are not ambitious of conquering. They have fertilized all the countries under the Engliſh dominion, wherever chance had conducted them.

Halifax will always continue to be the principal place of the province; an advantage it owes to the encouragements laviſhed upon it by the mother country. Their expences for this ſettlement from its firſt foundation to the year 1769, amounted to more than 3937 *l.* 10 *s.* per annum. Such favours were not ill beſtowed upon a city, which, from its ſituation, is the natural rendezvous of both the land and ſea forces which Great Britain ſometimes thinks herſelf obliged to maintain in America, as well for the defence of her fiſheries and the protection of her ſugar-iſlands, as for the purpoſe of maintaining her connections with her northern colonies. Halifax, indeed, derives more of its ſplendor from the motion and activity which is conſtantly kept up in its ports, than either from its cultivation which is trifling, or from its fiſheries which have not been conſiderably improved,

improved, though they conſiſt of cod, mackerel, and the ſeal. It is not even in the ſtate it ſhould be as a fortified town. The malverſations of perſons employed, who inſtead of the fortifications ordered and paid for by the mother country, have only erected a few batteries without any ditch round the city, make it liable to fall without reſiſtance into the hands of the firſt enemy that attacks it. In 1757, the inhabitants of the county of Halifax rated the value of their houſes, cattle, and merchandiſe, at about 295,312 *l.* 10 *s.* This ſum, which makes about two thirds of the riches of the whole province, has not increaſed above one fourth ſince that time.

The deſire of putting a ſtop to this ſtate of languor was, probably, one of the motives which induced the Britiſh government to conſtitute a court of admiralty for all North America, and to place the ſeat of it at Halifax, in 1763. Before this period, the juſtices of peace uſed to be the judges of all violations of the act of navigation; but the partiality theſe magiſtrates uſed to ſhew in their judgements for the colony where they were born and which had choſen them, made their miniſtry uſeleſs, and even prejudicial to the mother country. It was preſumed, that if enlightened men were ſent from Europe, and well ſupported, they would impreſs more reſpect for their determination. The event has juſtified this policy. Since that regulation, the commercial laws have been better obſerved; but ſtill great inconveniences have enſued from the diſtance of many provinces from the ſeat of this new tribunal. It is probable, that, to remedy theſe, adminiſtration will be forced to multiply the number of the courts, and diſperſe them in places convenient for the people to have acceſs to them. Nova Scotia will then loſe the temporary advantage it gains from being the reſort of thoſe who come for juſtice; but it will, probably, find out other natural ſources of wealth within itſelf. It has ſome, indeed, that are peculiar to it. The exceeding fine flax it produces, of which the three kingdoms are ſo

much in want, muſt haſten the progreſs of its improvement.

CHAP. IV.

Of NEW ENGLAND.

I. *Foundation.*

NEW ENGLAND, like the mother country, has ſignalized itſelf by many acts of violence; and was actuated by the ſame turbulent ſpirit. It took its riſe in troubleſome times, and its infant-ſtate was diſturbed with many dreadful commotions. It was diſcovered in the beginning of the laſt century, and called North Virginia; but no Europeans ſettled there till the year 1608. The firſt colony, which was weak and ill directed, did not ſucceed; and for ſome time after, there were only a few adventurers who came over at times in the ſummer, built themſelves temporary huts for the ſake of trading with the ſavages, and like them diſappeared again for the reſt of the year. Fanaticiſm, which had depopulated America to the ſouth, was deſtined to repopulate it in the north. At length ſome Engliſh preſbyterians, who had been driven from their own country, and had taken refuge in Holland, that univerſal aſylum of liberty, reſolved to found a church for their ſect in a new hemiſphere. They therefore purchaſed, in 1621, the charter of the Engliſh North Virginia Company: for they were not poor enough to wait in patience till their virtues ſhould have made them proſperous. Forty-one families, making in all 120 perſons, ſet out, guided by enthuſiaſm, which, whether founded upon error or truth, is always productive of great actions. They landed at the beginning of a very hard winter; and found a country entirely covered with wood, which offered a very melancholy

lancholy proſpect to men already exhauſted with the fatigues of their journey. Near one half periſhed either from the cold, the ſcurvy, or diſtreſs; the reſt were kept alive for ſome time by a ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, and the ſteadineſs of character they had contracted under the perſecution of epiſcopal tyranny. But their courage was beginning to fail, when it was revived by the arrival of ſixty ſavage warriors, who came to them in the ſpring, headed by their chief. Freedom ſeemed to exult that ſhe had thus brought together from the extremities of the world two ſuch different people; who immediately entered into a reciprocal alliance of friendſhip and protection. The old tenants aſſigned for ever to the new ones all the lands in the neighbourhood of the ſettlement they had formed under the name of New Plymouth; and one of the ſavages, who underſtood a little Engliſh, ſtaid with them to teach them how to cultivate the maize, and inſtruct them in the manner of fiſhing upon their coaſt.

This kindneſs enabled the colony to wait for the companions they expected from Europe, with ſeeds and all ſorts of domeſtic animals. At firſt they came but ſlowly; but the perſecution of the puritans in England increaſed the number of proſelytes (as is always the caſe) to ſuch a degree in America, that in 1630, they were obliged to form different ſettlements, of which Boſton ſoon became the principal. Theſe firſt ſettlers were not merely eccleſiaſtics, who had been driven out of their preferment for their opinions; nor thoſe ſectaries, influenced by new opinions, that are ſo frequent among the common people. There were among them ſeveral perſons of high rank, who having embraced puritaniſm either from motives of caprice, ambition, or even of conſcience, had taken the precaution to ſecure themſelves an aſylum in theſe diſtant regions. They had cauſed houſes to be built, and lands to be cleared, with a view of retiring there, if their endeavours in the cauſe of civil and religious liberty ſhould prove abortive.

The ſame fanatical ſpirit that had introduced anarchy into the mother country, kept the colony in a ſtate of ſubordination; or rather, a ſeverity of manners had the ſame effect as laws in a ſavage climate.

The inhabitants of New England lived peaceably for a long time without any regular form of polity. It was not that their charter had not authoriſed them to eſtabliſh any mode of government they might chuſe; but theſe enthuſiaſts were not agreed amongſt themſelves upon the plan of their republic, and government was not ſufficiently concerned about them to urge them to ſecure their own tranquillity. At length they grew ſenſible of the neceſſity of a regular legiſlation; and this great work, which virtue and genius united, have never attempted but with diffidence, was boldly undertaken by blind fanaticiſm. It bore the ſtamp of the rude prejudices on which it had been formed.

There was in this new code a ſingular mixture of good and evil, of wiſdom and folly. No man was allowed to have any ſhare in the government, except he was a member of the eſtabliſhed church. Witchcraft, perjury, blaſphemy, and adultery, were made capital offences; and children were alſo puniſhed with death, either for curſing or ſtriking their parents. On the other hand, marriages were to be ſolemnized by the magiſtrate. The price of corn was fixed at *2s. 11d.* halfpenny per buſhel. The ſavages who neglected to cultivate their lands were to be deprived of them by law. Europeans were forbidden under a heavy penalty to ſell them any ſtrong liquors or warlike ſtores All thoſe who were detected either in lying, or drunkenneſs, or dancing, were ordered to be publicly whipped. But at the ſame time that amuſements were forbidden equally with vices and crimes, one might ſwear by paying a penalty of a ſhilling, and break the ſabbath for three pounds. It was eſteemed an indulgence to be able to atone by money for a neglect of prayer, or for uttering a raſh oath. But it is ſtill more extraordinary that the worſhip of images was forbidden to the puritans on

pain

pain of death; which was alſo inflicted on Roman Catholic prieſts who ſhould return to the colony after they had been baniſhed, and on Quakers who ſhould appear again after having been whipped, branded, and expelled. Such was the abhorrence for theſe ſectaries, who had themſelves an averſion for every kind of cruelty, that whoever either brought one of them into the country, or harboured him but for one hour, was expoſed to pay a conſiderable fine.

2. *Fanaticiſm occaſions great calamities there.*

Those unfortunate members of the colony, who, leſs violent than their brethren, ventured to deny the coercive power of the magiſtrate in matters of religion, were perſecuted with ſtill greater rigour. This appeared a blaſphemy to thoſe divines who had rather choſen to quit their country than to ſhew any deference to epiſcopal authority. By that natural tendency of the human heart from the love of independence to that tyranny, they changed their opinions as they changed the climate; and only ſeemed to arrogate freedom of thought to themſelves in order to deny it to others. This ſyſtem was ſupported by the ſeverities of the law, which attempted to put a ſtop to every difference in opinion, by impoſing capital puniſhment on all who diſſented. Whoever was either convicted, or even ſuſpected, of entertaining ſentiments of toleration, was expoſed to ſuch cruel oppreſſions, that they were forced to fly from their firſt aſylum, and ſeek refuge in another. They found one on the ſame continent; and as New England had been firſt founded by perſecution, its limits were extended by it. This ſeverity, which a man turns againſt himſelf, or againſt his fellow-creatures, and makes him either the victim or the oppreſſor, ſoon exerted itſelf againſt the Quakers. They were whipped, baniſhed, and impriſoned. The proud ſimplicity of theſe new enthuſiaſts,

who

who in the midſt of tortures and ignominy praiſed God, and called for bleſſings upon men, inſpired a reverence for their perſons and opinions, and gained them a number of proſelytes. This circumſtance exaſperated their perſecutors, and hurried them on to the moſt atrocious acts of violence; and they cauſed five of them, who had returned clandeſtinely from baniſhment, to be hanged. It ſeemed as if the Engliſh had come to America to exerciſe upon their own countrymen the ſame cruelty the Spaniards had uſed againſt the Indians. This ſpirit of perſecution was at laſt ſuppreſſed by the interpoſition of the mother country, from whence it had been brought.

Cromwell was no more: enthuſiaſm, hypocriſy, and fanaticiſm, which compoſed his character; factions, rebellions, and proſcriptions; were all buried with him, and England had the proſpect of calmer days. Charles the ſecond, at his reſtoration, had introduced amongſt his ſubjects a ſocial turn, a taſte for convivial pleaſures, gallantry, and diverſions, and for all thoſe amuſements he had been engaged in while he was wandering from one court to another in Europe, to recover the crown which his father had loſt upon a ſcaffold. Nothing but ſuch a total change of manners could poſſibly have ſecured the tranquillity of his government upon a throne marked with blood. He was one of thoſe voluptuaries, whom the love of ſenſual pleaſures ſometimes excites to ſentiments of compaſſion and humanity. Moved with the ſufferings of the Quakers, he put a ſtop to them by a proclamation in 1661; but he was never able totally to extinguiſh the ſpirit of perſecution that prevailed in America.

The colony had placed at their head Henry Vane, the ſon of that Sir Henry Vane, who had had ſuch a remarkable ſhare in the diſturbances of his country. This obſtinate and enthuſiaſtic young man, in every thing reſembling his father, unable either to live peaceably himſelf, or to ſuffer others to remain quiet,

had

had contrived to revive the obſcure and obſolete queſtions of grace and free will. The diſputes upon theſe points ran very high; and would, probably, have plunged the colony into a civil war, if ſeveral of the ſavage nations united had not happened at that very time to fall upon the plantations of the diſputants, and to maſſacre great numbers of them. The coloniſts, heated with their theological conteſts, paid at firſt very little attention to this conſiderable loſs. But the danger at length became ſo urgent and ſo general, that all took up arms. As ſoon as the enemy was repulſed, the colony reſumed its former diſſentions; and the frenzy which they excited, broke out, in 1692, in a war, marked with as many atrocious inſtances of violence as any ever recorded in hiſtory.

There lived in a town of New England, called Salem, two young women who were ſubject to convulſions, accompanied with extraordinary ſymptoms. Their father, miniſter of the church, thought that they were bewitched; and having in conſequence caſt his ſuſpicions upon an Indian girl who lived in his houſe, he compelled her by harſh treatment to confeſs that ſhe was a witch. Other women, upon hearing this, ſeduced by the pleaſure of exciting the public attention, immediately believed that the convulſions which proceeded only from the nature of their ſex, were owing to the ſame cauſe. Three citizens, pitched upon by chance, were immediately thrown into priſon, accuſed of witchcraft, hanged, and their bodies left expoſed to wild beaſts and birds of prey. A few days after, ſixteen other perſons, together with a counſellor, who, becauſe he refuſed to plead againſt them, was ſuppoſed to ſhare in their guilt, ſuffered in the ſame manner. From this inſtant, the imagination of the multitude was inflamed with theſe horrid and gloomy ſcenes. The innocence of youth, the infirmities of age, virgin modeſty, fortune, honour, virtue, the moſt dignified employments of the ſtate, nothing was ſufficient to

exempt

exempt ftom the ſuſpicions of a people infatuated with viſionary ſuperſtition. Children of ten years of age were put to death; young girls were ſtripped naked, and the marks of witchcraft ſearched for upon their bodies with the moſt indecent curioſity; thoſe ſpots of the ſcurvy which age impreſſes upon the bodies of old men, were taken for evident ſigns of the infernal power. Fanaticiſm, wickedneſs, and vengeance, united, ſelected out their victims with pleaſure. In default of witneſſes, torments were employed to extort confeſſions dictated by the executioners themſelves. If the magiſtrates, tired out with executions, refuſed to puniſh, they were themſelves accuſed of the crimes they would no longer purſue; the very miniſters of religion raiſed falſe witneſſes againſt them, who made them forfeit with their lives the tardy remorſe excited in them by humanity. Dreams, apparitions, terror and conſternation of every kind, increaſed theſe prodigies of folly and horror. The priſons were filled, the gibbets left ſtanding, and all the citizens involved in gloomy apprehenſions. The moſt prudent perſons quitted a country imbrued with the blood of its inhabitants; and thoſe that remained ſought for nothing but reſt in the grave. In a word, nothing leſs than the total and immediate ſubverſion of the colony was expected; when on a ſudden, in the height of the ſtorm, the waves ſubſided, and a calm enſued. All eyes were opened at once, and the exceſs of the evil awakened the minds which it had at firſt ſtupified. Bitter and painful remorſe was the immediate conſequence; the mercy of God was implored by a general faſt, and public prayers were offered up to aſk forgiveneſs for the preſumption of having ſuppoſed that heaven could have been pleaſed with ſacrifices with which it could only have been offended.

Poſterity will probably never know exactly what was the cauſe or remedy of this dreadful diſorder. It had, perhaps, its firſt origin in the melancholy which theſe perſecuted enthuſiaſts had brought with them

them from their own country, which had increaſed with the ſcurvy they had contracted at ſea, and which had gathered freſh ſtrength from the vapours and exhalations of a ſoil newly broken up, as well as from the inconveniences and hardſhips inſeparable from a change of climate and manner of living. The contagion, however, ceaſed like all other epidemical diſtempers, exhauſted by its very communication; as all the diſorders of the imagination are diſpelled in the tranſports of a delirium. A perfect calm ſucceeded this agitation; and the puritans of New-England have never ſince been ſeized with ſo gloomy a fit of enthuſiaſm.

3. *Government, Population, Cultures, Manufactures, Trade and Navigation, of New England.*

THIS colony, bounded to the north by Canada, to the weſt by New York, and to the eaſt and ſouth by Nova Scotia and the ocean, extends full three hundred miles on the borders of the ſea, and upwards of fifty miles in the inland parts.

The clearing of the lands is not done by chance as in the other provinces. From the firſt they were ſubjected to laws which are ſtill religiouſly obſerved. No citizen whatever has the liberty of ſettling even upon unoccupied land. The government, which was deſirous of preſerving all its members from the inroads of the ſavages, and that they ſhould be at hand to partake of the ſuccours of a well regulated ſociety, hath ordered that whole villages ſhould be formed at once. As ſoon as ſixty families offer to build a church, maintain a clergyman, and pay a ſchool-maſter, the general congreſs allot them a ſituation, and permit them to have two repreſentatives in the legiſlative body of the colony. The diſtrict aſſigned them always borders upon the lands already cleared, and generally contains ſix thouſand ſquare acres. Theſe new people chuſe out the ſpot

moſt

moſt convenient for their reſpective habitations, and it is uſually of a ſquare figure. The church is placed in the centre; and the coloniſts dividing the land among themſelves, each incloſes his property with a hedge. Some woods are reſerved for a common. It is thus that New-England is continually aggrandizing itſelf, without diſcontinuing to make one complete and well-conſtituted province.

Though the colony is ſituated in the midſt of the temperate zone, yet the climate is not ſo mild as that of ſome European provinces which are under the ſame parallel. The winters are longer, and more cold; the ſummers ſhorter, and more hot. The ſky is commonly clear, and the rains more plentiful than laſting. The air has grown purer ſince its circulation has been made free by cutting down the woods; and malignant vapours, which at firſt carried off ſome of the inhabitants, are no longer complained of.

The country is divided into four provinces, which in the beginning had no connection with one another. The neceſſity of maintaining an armed force againſt the ſavages obliged them to form a confederacy in 1643, at which time they took the name of the United Colonies. In conſequence of this league, two deputies from each eſtabliſhment uſed to meet in a ſtated place to deliberate upon the common affairs of New-England, according to the inſtructions they had received from the aſſembly by which they were ſent. This aſſociation controuled in no one point the right which every individual had of acting entirely as he pleaſed, without either the permiſſion or approbation of the mother country. All the ſubmiſſion of theſe provinces conſiſted in a vague acknowledgment of the kings of Britain for their ſovereigns.

So ſlight a dependence diſpleaſed Charles II. The province of Maſſachuſet's bay, which, though the ſmalleſt, was the richeſt and the moſt populous of the four, being guilty of ſome miſdemeanour againſt government, the king ſeized that opportunity of taking away its charter in 1684; and it remained without

without one till the revolution; when it received another, which, however, did not anſwer its claims or expectations. The crown reſerved to itſelf the right of nominating the governor, and appointing to all military employments and to all principal poſts in the civil and juridical departments: allowing the people of the colony their legiſlative power, they gave the governor a negative voice and the command of the troops, which ſecured him a ſufficient influence to enable him to maintain the prerogative of the mother country in all its force. The provinces of Connecticut and Rhode-Iſland, by timely ſubmiſſion, prevented the puniſhment that of Maſſachuſet had incurred, and retained their original charter. That of New-Hampſhire had been always regulated by the ſame mode of adminiſtration as the province of Maſſachuſet's bay. The ſame governor preſides over the whole colony, but with regulations adapted to the conſtitution of each province. According to the moſt exact calculations, the preſent population of New-England is computed at four hundred thouſand inhabitants, which are more numerous to the ſouth than to the north of the colony, where the ſoil is leſs fertile. Among ſuch a number of citizens, there are few proprietors wealthy enough to leave the care of their plantations to ſtewards or farmers: moſt of them are planters in eaſy circumſtances, who live upon their eſtates and are buſied in the labours of the field. This equality of fortune, joined to the religious principles and to the nature of the government, gives this people a more republican caſt than is to be obſerved in the other colonies.

None of our beſt fruits have degenerated New-England; it is even ſaid, that the apple is improved, at leaſt it has multiplied exceedingly, and made cyder a more common drink than in any other part of the world. All our roots and garden-ſtuff have had the ſame ſucceſs; but the ſeeds have not thriven quite ſo well. Wheat is apt to be blighted, barley grows dry, and oats yield more ſtraw than grain.

In default of theſe, the maize, which is uſually conſumed in making beer, is the reſource of the common people. There are large and fruitful meadows, which are covered with numerous flocks.

The arts, though carried to a greater degree of perfection in this colony than in any of the others, have not made near the ſame progreſs as agriculture. There are not more than four or five manufactures of any importance.

The firſt which was formed, was that for building of ſhips. It maintained for a long time a degree of reputation. The veſſels out of this dock were in great eſtimation, the materials of which they were conſtructed being found much leſs porous and much leſs apt to ſplit than thoſe of the more ſouthern provinces. Since 1730, the numbers of them are conſiderably diminiſhed, becauſe the woods for building have been little attended to, and uſed for other purpoſes. To prevent this inconvenience, it was propoſed to forbid the cutting of any of them within ten miles of the ſea; and we know not for what reaſon this law, the neceſſity of which was ſo evident, was never put in force. The diſtilling of rum has ſucceeded better than the building of ſhips. It was begun from the facility the New-Englanders had of importing large quantities of melaſſes from the Caribbees. The melaſſes were at firſt uſed in kind for various purpoſes. By degrees they learnt to diſtil them. When made into rum, they ſupplied the neighbouring ſavages with it, as the Newfoundland fiſhermen did the other northern provinces, and ſailors who frequented the coaſt of Africa. The degree of imperfection in which this art hath ſtill remained in the colony, has not diminiſhed the ſale of it; becauſe they have always been able to afford the rum at a very low price.

The ſame reaſon has both ſupported and increaſed the manufacture of hats. Though limited by the regulations of the mother country to the internal conſumption of the colony, the merchants have found means

means to ſurmount theſe obſtacles, and to ſmuggle pretty large quantities of them into the neighbouring ſettlements.

The colony ſells no cloths, but it buys very few. The fleeces of its flocks, as long, though not quite ſo fine, as the Engliſh ones, make coarſe ſtuffs, which do extremely well for plain men who live in the country.

Some Preſbyterians who were driven from the north of Ireland by the perſecutions either of the government or of the clergy, firſt taught the New Englanders to cultivate hemp and flax, and to manufacture them. The linens made of them are ſince become one of the great reſources of the colony.

The mother country, whoſe political calculations have not always coincided with the high opinion entertained of her abilities, has omitted nothing to thwart theſe ſeveral manufactures. She did not perceive, that, by this oppreſſive conduct of the government, thoſe of her ſubjects who were employed in clearing this conſiderable part of the new world muſt be reduced to the alternative either of abandoning ſo good a country, or procuring from among themſelves the things of general uſe and of immediate neceſſity. Indeed, even theſe reſources would not have been ſufficient to maintain them, if they had not had the good fortune and the addreſs to open to themſelves ſeveral other channels of ſubſiſtence, the origin and progreſs of which we muſt endeavour to trace.

The firſt reſource they met with from without, was in the fiſhery. It has been encouraged to ſuch a degree, that a regulation has taken place, by which every family who ſhould declare that it had lived upon ſalt-fiſh for two days in the week during a whole year, ſhould be diſburdened of part of their tax. Thus commercial views enjoin abſtinence from meat to the proteſtants, in the ſame manner as religion preſcribes it to the catholics.

Mackerel is caught only in the ſpring at the mouth of the Pentagouet, a conſiderable river which empties

itſelf in Fundy bay, towards the extremity of the colony. In the very centre of the coaſt, and near Boſton, the cod-fiſh is always in ſuch plenty, that Cape Cod, notwithſtanding the ſterility of its ſoil, is one of the moſt populous parts of the country. Not content, however, with the fiſh caught in its own latitudes, New England ſends every year about two hundred veſſels, from thirty-five to forty tons each, to the great bank, to Newfoundland, and to Cape Breton, which commonly make three voyages a ſeaſon, and bring back at leaſt a hundred thouſand quintals of cod. Beſides, there are larger veſſels which ſail from the ſame ports, and exchange proviſions for the produce of the fiſhery of thoſe Engliſh who are ſettled in theſe frozen and barren regions. All this cod is afterwards diſtributed in the ſouthern parts of Europe and America.

This is not the only article with which the Britiſh iſlands in the new world are ſupplied by New England. It furniſhes them, beſides, horſes, oxen, hogs, ſalt meat, butter, tallow, cheeſe, flour, biſcuit, Indian corn, peaſe, fruits, cyder, hemp, flax, and woods of all kinds. The ſame commodities paſs into the iſlands belonging to the other nations, ſometimes openly, ſometimes by ſmuggling, but always in leſſer quantities during peace than in time of war. Honduras, Surinam, and other parts of the American continent open ſimilar markets to New England. This province alſo fetches wines and brandies from the Madeiras and the Azores, and pays for them with cod-fiſh and corn.

The ports of Italy, Spain, and Portugal, receive annually ſixty or ſeventy of their ſhips. They come there laden with cod, wood for ſhip-building, naval ſtores, corn, and fiſh-oil; many of them return with olive-oil, ſalt, wine, and money, immediately to New England, where they land their cargoes clandeſtinely.

By this method, they elude the cuſtoms they would be obliged to pay in Great Britain, if they went there, as in purſuance of a poſitive order they ought

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to do. The ſhips which do not return to the original port are ſold in thoſe where they diſpoſe of their cargo. They have frequently no particular addreſs, but are freighted indifferently for every merchant and every port, till they meet with a proper purchaſer.

The mother country receives from this colony yards and maſts for the royal navy, planks, pot-aſhes, pitch, tar, turpentine, a few furs, and, in years of ſcarcity, ſome corn. Theſe cargoes come home in ſhips built by her own merchants, or bought by them of privateers, who build upon ſpeculation.

Beſides the trade New England makes of her own productions, ſhe has appropriated great part of the conveying trade between North and South America, in conſequence of which the New Englanders are looked upon as the brokers or Hollanders of that part of the world.

Notwithſtanding this lively and continued exertion, New England has never yet been able to free herſelf from debt. She has never been able to pay exactly for what ſhe received from the mother country, either in productions of her own or of foreign induſtry, or in thoſe from the Eaſt-Indies; all which articles of trade amount annually to 393,750*l.*

She has ſtill, however, trade enough to keep ſix thouſand ſailors in conſtant employment. Her marine conſiſts of five hundred large veſſels, which carry all together forty thouſand tons burden; beſides a great number of ſmaller veſſels for fiſhing and for the coaſting trade, which come out indifferently from all the open roads which are ſpread all over the coaſt. Almoſt all of them load and unload at Boſton.

Boston, the capital of New England, is ſituated in a peninſula, about four miles long, at the bottom of the fine bay of Maſſachuſet, which reaches about eight miles within land. The opening of the bay is ſheltered from the impetuoſity of the waves by a number of rocks which riſe above the water; and by a dozen of ſmall iſlands, the greater part of which are

fruitful and inhabited. Theſe dykes and natural ramparts will not allow more than three ſhips to come in together. At the end of the laſt century, a regular citadel, named Fort William, was erected in one of the iſlands upon this narrow channel. There are one hundred pieces of cannon, carrying forty-two pounders each, upon it, which are diſpoſed in ſuch a manner, that they can batter a ſhip fore and aft before it is poſſible for her to bring her guns to bear. A league further on, there is a very high light-houſe, the ſignals from which, in caſe of invaſion, are perceived and repeated by the fortreſſes along the whole coaſt; at the ſame time that Boſton has her own light-houſes, which ſpread the alarm to all the inland country. Except in the caſe of a very thick fog, which a few ſhips may take advantage of to get into ſome of the ſmaller iſlands, the town has always five or ſix hours to prepare for the reception of the enemy, and to get together ten thouſand militia, which can be raiſed at four and twenty hours notice. If a fleet ſhould ever be able to paſs the artillery of Fort William, it would infallibly be ſtopped by a couple of batteries, which being erected to the north and ſouth of the place, command the whole bay, and would give time for all the veſſels and commercial ſtores to be ſheltered from cannon ſhot in the river Charles.

Boſton port is large enough for ſix hundred veſſels to anchor in it ſafely and commodiouſly. There is a magnificent pier conſtructed, far enough advanced in the ſea for the ſhips to unload their goods without the aſſiſtance of a lighter, and to diſcharge them into the warehouſes which are ranged on the north ſide. At the extremity of the pier the town appears, built in the form of a creſcent round the harbour. According to the bills of mortality, which are become with reaſon the only rule of political arithmetic, it contains about thirty thouſand inhabitants, compoſed of Anabaptiſts, Quakers, French refugees, Engliſh Preſbyterians, and Church of England men.

men. The houſes, furniture, dreſs, food, converſation, cuſtoms and manners, are ſo exactly ſimilar to the mode of living in London, that it is impoſſible to find any other difference but that which ariſes from the overgrown population of large capitals.

CHAP. X.

Of NEW YORK and NEW JERSEY.

1. *New York, founded by the Dutch, paſſes into the hands of the Engliſh.*

NEW-YORK, limited to the eaſt by New-England, and bounded to the weſt by New-Jerſey, occupies at firſt a very narrow ſpace of twenty miles along the ſea-ſhore, and, inſenſibly enlarging, extends above a hundred and fifty miles northward in the inland country.

This country was diſcovered by Henry Hudſon in 1609. That celebrated navigator, after having made vain attempts under the patronage of the Dutch Eaſt-India company for the diſcovery of a north-weſt paſſage, veered about to the ſouthward, and coaſted along the continent, in hopes of making ſome uſeful diſcovery that might prove a kind of indemnification to the ſociety for the truſt they had repoſed in him. He entered into a conſiderable river, to which he gave his name; and after having reconnoitred the coaſt and its inhabitants, returned to Amſterdam from whence he had ſet ſail.

According to the European ſyſtem, which conſiders the people of the new world as nothing, this country ſhould have belonged to the Dutch. It had been diſcovered by a man in their ſervice, who had taken poſſeſſion of it in their name, and given up to them all the claims which he himſelf might have to it. His being an Engliſhman did not in the leaſt

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invalidate theſe uncontrovertable titles. It muſt, therefore, have occaſioned great ſurpriſe, when James I. aſſerted his pretenſions to it, upon the principle that Hudſon was born his ſubject; as if the real country of any man was not that in which he earns his ſubſiſtence. The king was ſo convinced of this, that he ſoon gave up the matter; and the republic ſent in 1610 to lay the foundation of the colony in a country which was to be called New Belgia. Every thing proſpered here. Fortunate beginnings ſeemed to announce a ſtill greater progreſs, when in 1664 the colony was expoſed to a ſtorm which it could not poſſibly foreſee.

England, which had not at that time thoſe intimate connections with Holland that the ambition and ſucceſſes of Lewis XIV. have given birth to ſince, had long ſeen with a jealous eye the proſperity of a ſmall ſtate in its neighbourhood, which, though but juſt formed, was always extending its proſperous trade to all parts of the world. She was ſecretly diſturbed at the thoughts of not being on an equality with a power to whom, in the nature of things, ſhe ought to have been greatly ſuperior. Theſe rivals in commerce and navigation, by their vigilance and oeconomy, gained the advantage over her in all the large markets of the whole univerſe. Every effort ſhe made to eſtabliſh a competition turned either to her loſs or diſcredit, and ſhe was obliged only to act a ſecondary part, whilſt all the trade then known was evidently centering itſelf in the republic. At length, the nation felt the diſgrace of her merchants; and reſolved, that what they could not compaſs by induſtry ſhould be ſecured to them by force. Charles II. notwithſtanding his averſion for buſineſs, and his immoderate love of pleaſure, eagerly adopted a meaſure which gave him a proſpect of acquiring the riches of theſe diſtant regions, together with the maritime empire of Europe. His brother, more active and more enterpriſing than himſelf, encouraged him in theſe diſpoſitions; and the deliberation

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concluded with their ordering the Dutch ſhips to be attacked, without any previous declaration of war.

An Engliſh fleet appeared before New Belgia in the month of Auguſt. It had three thouſand men on board; and ſo numerous a force precluding every idea as well as every hope of reſiſtance, the colony ſubmitted as ſoon as it was ſummoned. The conqueſt was ſecured to the victors by the treaty of Breda; but it was again taken from them in 1673, when the intrigues of France had found means to ſet two powers at variance, who for their mutual intereſts ought always to be friends. A ſecond treaty reſtored New Belgia to the Engliſh, who have remained in quiet poſſeſſion of it ever ſince, under the name of New York.

It had taken that name from the duke of York, to whom it had been given by the king in 1664. As ſoon as he had recovered it, he governed it upon the ſame arbitrary principles which afterwards deprived him of the throne. His deputies, in whoſe hands were lodged powers of every kind, not contented with the exerciſe of the public authority, conſtituted themſelves arbitrators in all private diſputes. The country was then inhabited by Hollanders who had preferred theſe plantations to their own country, and by coloniſts who had come from New England. Theſe people had been too long accuſtomed to liberty, to ſubmit patiently for any time to ſo arbitrary an adminiſtration. Every thing ſeemed tending either to an inſurrection or an emigration, when in 1683 the colony was invited to chuſe repreſentatives to ſettle its form of government. Time produced ſome other changes; but it was not till 1691 that a fixed plan of government was adopted, which has been followed ever ſince.

At the head of the colony is a governor appointed by the crown; which likewiſe appoints twelve counſellors, without whoſe concurrence the governor can ſign no act. The commons are repreſented by twenty-ſeven deputies, choſen by the inhabitants; and theſe ſeveral bodies conſtitute the general aſ-

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ſembly, in which every power is lodged. The duration of this aſſembly, originally unlimited, was afterwards fixed at three years, and now continues for ſeven, like the Britiſh parliament, whoſe revolutions it has followed.

2 *Flouriſhing ſtate of New York. Cauſes of its proſperity.*

SUPPORTED upon a government ſo ſolid, ſo favourable to that liberty which makes every thing proſper, the colony gave itſelf up entirely to all the labours which its ſituation could require or encourage. A climate much milder than that of New England, a ſoil ſuperior to it for the cultivation of corn, and equally fit for that of every other production, ſoon enabled it to vie ſucceſsfully with an eſtabliſhment that had got the ſtart of it in all its productions and in all the markets. If it was not equal in its manufactures, this inferiority was amply compenſated by a fur-trade infinitely more conſiderable. Theſe means of proſperity, united to a very great degree of toleration in religious matters, have raiſed its population to one hundred and fifty thouſand inhabitants; five and twenty thouſand of whom are able to bear arms, and conſtitute the national militia.

The colony would ſtill have flouriſhed much more, had not its proſperity been obſtructed by the fanaticiſm of two governors, the oppreſſive conduct of ſome others, and the extravagant grants made to ſome individuals in too high favour; but theſe inconveniences, which are only temporary under the Britiſh government, have ſome of them ceaſed, and the reſt of them are leſſened. The province may, therefore, expect to ſee her productions doubly increaſed, if the two thirds of its territory, which ſtill remain uncleared, ſhould yield as much as the one third which has already been cultivated.

It is impoſſible to foreſee what influence theſe riches

riches may have upon the minds of the inhabitants; but it is certain they have not yet abuſed thoſe they have hitherto acquired. The Dutch, who were the firſt founders of the colony, planted in it that ſpirit of order and oeconomy which is the characteriſtic of their nation; and as they always made up the bulk of the people, even after theſe had changed maſters, the example of their decent manners was imitated by all the new coloniſts brought amongſt them by the conqueſt. The Germans, compelled to take refuge in America by the perſecution which drove them out of the Palatinate, or from the other provinces of the empire, were naturally inclined to this ſimple and modeſt way of life; and the Engliſh and French, who were not accuſtomed to ſo much frugality, ſoon conformed, either from motives of wiſdom or emulation, to a mode of living leſs expenſive and more familiar than that which is regulated by faſhion and parade.

What has been the conſequence? That the colony has never run in debt with the mother country; that it has by that means preſerved an entire liberty in its ſales and purchaſes, and been enabled always to give to its affairs the direction which has been moſt advantageous to them. Had the repreſentatives carried the ſame principles into their adminiſtration, the province would not have entered precipitately into engagements, the burden of which it already feels.

Both the banks of Hudſon's river are laid out in the plantations of the colony, which enliven and decorate theſe borders. It is upon this magnificent canal, which is navigable day and night, in all ſeaſons, and where the tide runs up above a hundred and ſixty miles in the land, that every thing which is intended for the general market is embarked in veſſels of forty or fifty tons burden. The ſtaple itſelf, which is near the ſea, is extremely well ſituated for receiving all the merchandiſe of the province, and all that comes from Long Island, which is only ſeparated from the continent by a narrow channel.

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This iſland, which takes its name from its figure, is one hundred and twenty miles in length by twelve in breadth. It was formerly very famous for the great number of whales and ſea-calves taken in its neighbourhood; but whether it is that the frequent fiſheries have driven away theſe animals, which generally ſeek quiet ſeas and deſert ſhores, they have diſappeared, and another branch of induſtry has been found to ſupply their loſs. As the paſtures are moſt excellent, the breeding of all kinds of cattle, and particularly horſes, has been much attended to, without neglecting any other branch of cultivation. All theſe different riches flow to the principal market, which is alſo increaſed by productions brought from a greater diſtance. Some parts of New England and New Jerſey find their account in pouring their ſtores into this magazine.

This mart is a very conſiderable town, which at preſent has the ſame name as the colony, and is called NEW YORK. It was formerly built by the Dutch, who gave it the name of New Amſterdam, in an iſland called Manahatton, which is fourteen leagues long and not very broad. In 1756, its population amounted to 10,468 whites, and 2,275 negroes. There is not any town where the air is better, or where there is a more general appearance of eaſe and plenty. Both the public edifices and private houſes convey the idea of ſolidity united to convenience. If the city, however, were attacked with vigour, it would hardly hold out twenty-four hours, having no other defence of the road or the town except a bad fort and a ſtone retrenchment.

New York, which ſtands at the diſtance of about two miles from the mouth of Hudſon's river, has, properly ſpeaking, neither port or baſon; but it does not want either, becauſe its road is ſufficient. It is from thence that 250 or 300 ſhips are diſpatched every year for the different ports of Europe and America. England receives but a ſmall part of them, but they are the richeſt, becauſe they are thoſe whoſe

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cargo conſiſts in furs and beaver ſkins. The manner in which the colony gets poſſeſſion of theſe peltries is now to be explained.

As ſoon as the Dutch had built New Amſterdam in a ſituation which they thought favourable for the intercourſe with Europe, they next endeavoured to eſtabliſh an advantageous trade there. The only thing at that time in requeſt from North America was furs; but as the neighbouring ſavages offered but few, and thoſe indifferent ones, there was a neceſſity of puſhing to the north to have them better and in larger quantities. In conſequence of this, a project was formed for an eſtabliſhment on the banks of Hudſon's river, 150 miles diſtance from the capital. The circumſtances fortunately proved favourable for obtaining the conſent of the Iroquois, to whom the territory required belonged. This brave nation happened to be then at war with the French, who were juſt arrived in Canada.

Upon an agreement to ſupply them with the ſame arms that their enemies uſed, they allowed the Dutch to build Fort Orange, which was afterwards called Fort Albany. There was never the leaſt diſpute between the two nations; on the contrary, the Dutch, with the aſſiſtance of their powder, lead, and guns, which they uſed to give in exchange for ſkins, ſecured to themſelves not only what they could get by their own hunting in all the five countries, but even the ſpoils collected by the Iroquois warriors in their expeditions.

Though the Engliſh, upon their taking poſſeſſion of the colony, maintained the union with the ſavages, they did not think ſeriouſly of extending the fur-trade, till the revocation of the edict of Nantes in 1685 introduced among them the art of making beaver hats. Their efforts were for a long time ineffectual, and there were chiefly two obſtacles to their ſucceſs. The French were accuſtomed to draw from Albany itſelf coverlets, thick worſted ſtuffs, different iron and copper manufactures, even arms and ammu-

nition ; all which they could ſell to the ſavages with ſo much the more advantage as theſe goods bought at Albany coſt them one third leſs than they would have done any other way. Beſides, the American nations, who were ſeparated from New York by the country of the Iroquois, in which nobody choſe to venture far, could hardly treat with any but the French.

Burnet, who was governor of the Britiſh colony in 1720, was either the firſt who ſaw the evil, or the firſt who ventured to ſtrike at the root of it. He made the general aſſembly forbid all communication between Albany and Canada, and then obtained the conſent of the Iroquois to build and fortify the factory of Oſwego at his own expence, on that part of the lake Ontario by which moſt of the ſavages muſt paſs in their way to Montreal. In conſequence of theſe two operations, the beavers and the other peltries were pretty equally divided between the French and Britiſh. The acceſſion of Canada cannot but increaſe at preſent the ſhare New York had in the trade, as the latter is better ſituated for it than the country which diſputed it with her.

If the Britiſh colony has gained by the acquiſition of Canada, it does not appear to have loſt any thing by being ſeparated from New Jerſey, which formerly made a part of New Belgia, under the title of New Sweden.

3. *In what manner New Jerſey fell into the hands of the Engliſh. Its preſent ſtate.*

The Swedes were, in fact, the firſt Europeans who ſettled in this region about the year 1639. The neglect in which they were left by their own country, which was too weak to be able to extend its protection to them at ſo great a diſtance, obliged them, at the end of ſixteen years, to give themſelves up to the Dutch, who united this acquiſition to New Belgia.

gia. When the duke of York received the grant of the two countries, he ſeparated them; and divided the leaſt of them, called New Jerſey, between two of his favourites.

Carteret and Berkley, the firſt of whom had received the eaſtern, and the other the weſtern part of the province, had ſolicited this vaſt territory with no other view but to put it up to ſale. Several adventurers accordingly bought large diſtricts of them at a low price, which they divided and ſold again in ſmaller parcels. In the midſt of theſe ſubdiviſions, the colony became divided into two diſtinct provinces, each ſeparately governed by the original proprietors. The exerciſe of this right growing at length inconvenient, as indeed it was ill adapted to the ſituation of a ſubject, they gave up their charter to the crown in 1702; and from that time the two provinces became one, and were directed, like the greater part of the other Britiſh colonies, by a governor, a council, and a general aſſembly.

New Jerſey, ſituated between 39 and 40 degrees north latitude, is bounded to the eaſt by New York, to the weſt by Penſylvania, to the north by unknown land, and to the ſouth by the ocean, which waſhes its coaſts thro' an extent of 120 miles. This large country before the laſt revolution contained only ſixteen thouſand inhabitants, the deſcendants of Swedes and Dutch, who were its firſt cultivators, to whom had been added ſome Quakers, and ſome Church-of-England men, with a greater number of Preſbyterians. The defect of the government ſtopped the progreſs and occaſioned the indigence of this ſmall colony. It might, therefore, have been expected that the æra of liberty ſhould have been that of its proſperity; but almoſt all the Europeans who went to the new world in ſearch either of an aſylum or riches, preferring the milder and more fruitful climates of Carolina and Penſylvania; New Jerſey could never recover from its primitive languor. Even at this day, it does not reckon above fifty thouſand

whites, united in villages, or diſperſed among the plantations, with twenty thouſand blacks.

The poverty of this province not ſuffering it in the beginning to open a direct trade with the diſtant or foreign markets, it began to ſell its productions at Philadelphia, and eſpecially at New York, with which there was an eaſy communication by rivers. It has continued this practice ever ſince, and receives in exchange from the two cities ſome of the productions of the mother country. Far, however, from being able to acquire any objects of luxury, it cannot even afford to purchaſe all the articles of immediate neceſſity; but is obliged itſelf to manufacture the greateſt part of its cloathing.

There is of courſe very little ſpecie in the colony, which is reduced to the uſe of paper-currency. All its bills together do not amount to more than 59,062 *l.* 10 *s.* As they are current both in Penſylvania and New York, which do not take any of each others bills; they bear an advanced premium above the bills of theſe two colonies, by being made uſe of in all the payments between them.

But ſo trifling an advantage will never give any real importance to New Jerſey. It is from out of its own boſom, that is, from the culture of its immenſe tract of deſert country, that it is to draw its vigour and proſperity. As long as it ſtands in need of intermediate agents, it will never recover from the ſtate of languor into which it is plunged. This the colony is thoroughly ſenſible of; and all its efforts are now directed to this end, in order to enable it to act for itſelf. It has even already made ſome with ſucceſs. As far back as the year 1751, it found means to fit out, at its own expence, thirty-eight veſſels, bound to Europe or to the ſouthern iſles of America. Theſe veſſels carried 188,000 quintals of biſcuits, ſix thouſand four hundred and twenty-four barrels of flour, ſeventeen thouſand nine hundred and forty-one buſhels of corn, three hundred and fourteen barrels of ſalt beef and pork, fourteen hundred quintals of hemp;

hemp; together with a pretty large quantity of hams, butter, beer, linſeed, iron in bars, and wood for building. It is imagined that this direct trade may have increaſed one third ſince that time.

This beginning of riches muſt raiſe the emulation; the induſtry, the hopes, the projects, and the interpriſes of a colony, which hitherto had not been able to ſuſtain the part in trade which its ſituation ſeemed to promiſe it. If, however, there are ſome poor and feeble ſtates that draw their ſubſiſtence and ſupport from the vicinity of others more rich and more brilliant than themſelves, there are a far greater number whom ſuch a neighbourhood entirely cruſhes and deſtroys. Such, perhaps, has been the fate of New Jerſey, as will appear from the hiſtory we are going to give of Penſylvania; which, lying too cloſe to this colony, has ſometimes ſtifled it with its ſhadow, ſometimes eclipſed it with its ſplendor.

BOOK II.

BRITISH COLONIES FOUNDED IN PENSYLVANIA, VIRGINIA, MARYLAND, CAROLINA, GEORGIA, AND FLORIDA.

CHAP. I.

Of Pensylvania.

1. *The Quakers found Pensylvania. Manners of that sect.*

LUTHERANISM, which was destined to cause a remarkable change in Europe, either by its own influence, or by the example it gave, had occasioned a great fermentation in the minds of all men; when there arose from the midst of it a new religion, which at first appeared much more like a rebellion guided by fanaticism, than like a sect that was governed by any fixed principles. In fact, the generality of innovators follow a regular system, composed of doctrines connected with each other; and, in the beginning at least, take arms only to defend themselves. The Anabaptists, on the contrary, as if they had looked into the Bible only for the word of command to attack, lifted up the standard of rebellion, before they had agreed upon a system of doctrine. It is true, indeed, that their leaders had taught, that it was a ridiculous and useless practice to administer baptism to infants; and asserted that their opinion upon this point was the same as that of the primitive church: but they had not yet ever practised themselves this only article of faith, which furnished a pretence for separation. The spirit of sedition precluded them from paying a proper attention to the schismatic-

matic tenets on which their diviſion was founded. To ſhake off the tyrannical yoke of church and ſtate, was their law and their faith. To enliſt in the armies of the Lord; to join with the faithful, who were to wield the ſword of Gideon; this was their device, their motive, and their ſignal for rallying.

It was not till after they had carried fire and ſword into a great part of Germany, that the Anabaptiſts thought at laſt of marking and cementing their confederacy by ſome viſible ſign of union. Having been inſpired at firſt to raiſe a body of troops, in 1525 they were inſpired to compoſe a religious code, and the following were the tenets they adopted.

In the mixed ſyſtem of intolerance and mildneſs by which they are guided, the Anabaptiſt church, being the only one in which the pure word of God is taught, neither can nor ought to communicate with any other.

The Spirit of the Lord blowing whereſoever it liſteth, the power of preaching is not limited to one order of the faithful, but is given to all. Every one likewiſe has the gift of prophecy.

Every ſect which has not preſerved the community of all things, which conſtituted the life and ſpirit of Chriſtianity, has degenerated, and is for that reaſon an impure ſociety.

Magiſtrates are uſeleſs in a ſociety of the truly faithful. A Chriſtian never has occaſion for any; nor is a Chriſtian allowed to be one himſelf.

Chriſtians are not permitted to take up arms even in their own defence, much leſs is it lawful for them to enliſt as ſoldiers in mercenary armies.

Both law-ſuits and oaths are forbidden the diſciples of Chriſt; who has commanded them to let their yea be yea, and their nay nay.

The baptiſm of infants is an invention of the devil and of the pope. The validity of baptiſm depends upon the voluntary conſent of the adults, who alone are able to receive it with a conſciouſneſs of the engagement they take upon themſelves.

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Such was, in its origin, the religious ſyſtem of the Anabaptiſts. Tho' it appears founded on charity and mildneſs, yet it produced nothing but violence and iniquity. The chimerical idea of an equality of ſtations is the moſt dangerous one that can be adopted in a civilized ſociety. To preach this ſyſtem to the people, is not to put them in mind of their rights, it is leading them on to aſſaſſination and plunder. It is letting domeſtic animals looſe, and transforming them into wild beaſts. The maſters who govern the people muſt be better informed, or the laws by which they are conducted muſt be ſoftened: but there is in fact no ſuch thing in nature as a real equality; it exiſts only in the the ſyſtem of equity. Even the ſavages themſelves are not equal, when once they are collected into hords. They are only ſo, while they wander in the woods; and then the man who ſuffers the produce of his chaſe to be taken from him, is not the equal of him who deprives him of it. Such has been the origin of all ſocieties.

A doctrine, the baſis of which was the community of goods and equality of ranks, was hardly calculated to find partizans any where but among the poor. The peaſants, accordingly, all adopted it with the more violence in proportion as the yoke from which it delivered them was more inſupportable. The far greater part, eſpecially thoſe who were condemned to ſlavery, roſe up in arms on all ſides, to ſupport a doctrine, which, from being vaſſals, made them equal to their lords. The apprehenſion of ſeeing one of the firſt bands of ſociety, obedience to the magiſtrate, broken, united all other ſects againſt them, who could not ſubſiſt without ſubordination. After having carried on a more obſtinate reſiſtance than could have been expected, they yielded at length to the number of their enemies. Their ſect, notwithſtanding it had made its way all over Germany, and into a part of the north, was no where prevalent, becauſe it had been every where oppoſed and diſperſed. It was but juſt tolerated in thoſe countries in which the greateſt la-

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titude of opinion was allowed; and there was not any ſtate in which it was able to ſettle a church, authoriſed by the civil power. This of courſe weakened it, and from obſcurity it fell into contempt. Its only glory is that of having, perhaps, contributed to the foundation of the ſect of the Quakers.

This humane and pacific ſect had ariſen in England amidſt the confuſions of a war, which terminated in a monarch's being dragged to the ſcaffold by his own ſubjects. The founder of it, George Fox, was of the lower claſs of the people; a man who had been formerly a mechanic, but whom a ſingular and contemplative turn of mind had induced to quit his profeſſion. In order to wean himſelf entirely from all earthly affections, he broke off all connections with his own family; and for fear of being tempted to renew them, he determined to have no fixed abode. He often wandered alone in the woods, without any other amuſement but his bible. In time he even learnt to go without that, when he thought he had acquired fom it a degree of inſpiration ſimilar to that of the apoſtles and the prophets.

Then he began to think of making proſelytes, which he found not in the leaſt difficult in a country where the minds of all men were filled and diſturbed with enthuſiaſtic notions. He was, therefore, ſoon followed by a multitude of diſciples, the novelty and ſingularity of whoſe notions upon incomprehenſible ſubjects could not fail of attracting and faſcinating all thoſe who were fond of the marvellous.

The firſt thing by which they caught the eye was the ſimplicity of their dreſs; in which there was neither gold nor ſilver lace, nor embroidery, nor laces, nor ruffles, and from which they affected to baniſh every thing that was ſuperfluous or unneceſſary. They would not ſuffer either a button in the hat, or a plait in the coat, becauſe it was poſſible to do without them. Such an extraordinary contempt for eſtabliſhed modes reminded thoſe who adopted it, that it became them to be more virtuous

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than the reſt of men from whom they diſtinguiſhed themſelves by this external modeſty.

All the external deferences which the pride and tyranny of mankind exact from thoſe who are unable to refuſe them, were diſdained by the quakers, who diſclaimed the names of Maſter and Servant. They condemned all titles as pride in thoſe who claimed them, and as meanneſs in thoſe who beſtowed them. They did not allow to any perſon whatever the appellation of Eminence or Excellence, and ſo far they might be in the right; but they refuſed to comply with thoſe reciprocal marks of attention which we call politeneſs, and in this they were to blame. The name of Friend, they ſaid, was not to be refuſed by one Chriſtian or citizen to another; but the ceremony of bowing they conſidered as ridiculous and troubleſome. To pull off one's hat they held to be a want of reſpect to one's ſelf, in order to ſhew it to others. They carried it ſo far, that even the magiſtrates could not draw from them any external token of reverence, but they addreſſed both them and princes, according to the ancient majeſty of language, in the ſecond perſon and in the ſingular number.

The auſterity of their morals ennobled the ſingularity of their manners. The uſe of arms, conſidered in every light, appeared a crime to them. If it was to attack, it was violating the laws of humanity; if to defend one's ſelf, it was breaking through thoſe of Chriſtianity. Univerſal peace was the goſpel they had agreed to profeſs. If any one ſmote a quaker upon one cheek, he immediately preſented the other; if any one aſked for his coat, he offered his waiſtcoat too. Nothing could engage theſe equitable men to demand more than the lawful price for their work, or to take leſs than what they demanded. An oath, even before a magiſtrate and in a juſt cauſe, they deemed to be a profanation of the name of God, in any of the wretched diſputes that ariſe between weak and periſhable beings.

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The contempt they had for the outward forms of politeneſs in civil life, was changed into averſion for the ritual and ceremonial parts of religion. They looked upon churches merely as the parade of religion; they conſidered the ſabbath as a pernicious idleneſs, and baptiſm and the Lord's ſupper as ridiculous cymbols. For this reaſon they rejected all regular orders of clergy. Every one of the faithful they imagined received an immediate illumination from the Holy Ghoſt, which gave a character far ſuperior to that of the prieſthood. When they were aſſembled together, the firſt perſon who found himſelf inſpired aroſe and imparted the lights he had received from heaven. Even women were often favoured with this gift of ſpeech, which they called the gift of prophecy: ſometimes many of theſe holy brethren ſpoke at the ſame time; but much more frequently a profound ſilence prevailed in their aſſemblies.

The enthuſiaſm occaſioned both by their meditations and diſcourſes, excited ſuch a degree of ſenſibility in the nervous ſyſtem, that it threw them into convulſions, for which reaſon they were called Quakers. To have cured theſe people in proceſs of time of their folly, nothing more was requiſite than to turn it into ridicule; but, inſtead of this, perſecution contributed to make it more general. Whilſt every other new ſect met with encouragement, this was expoſed to every kind of puniſhment; impriſonments, whippings, pillories, mad-houſes, nothing was thought too terrible for bigots, whoſe only crime was that of wanting to be virtuous and reaſonable over much. The conſtancy with which they bore their ſufferings, at firſt excited compaſſion and afterwards admiration for them. Even Cromwell, who had been one of their moſt violent enemies, becauſe they uſed to inſinuate themſelves into his camps, and diſcourage his ſoldiers from their profeſſion, gave them public marks of his eſteem. His policy exerted itſelf in endeavouring to draw them into his party,

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in order to conciliate to himſelf a higher degree of reſpect and conſideration: but they either eluded his invitations, or rejected them; and he afterwards confeſſed, that this was the only religion in which his guineas had taken no effect.

Amongſt the ſeveral perſons who caſt a temporary luſtre on the ſect, the only one who deſerves to be remembered by poſterity is William Penn. He was the ſon of an admiral, who had been fortunate enough to be equally diſtinguiſhed by Cromwell and the two Stuarts who held the reigns of government after him. This able ſeaman, more ſupple and more inſinuating than men commonly are in his profeſſion, had made conſiderable advances to government in the different expeditions in which he had been engaged. The misfortunes of the times had not ſuffered them to be repaid during his life; and as affairs were not in a better ſituation at his death, it was propoſed to his ſon, that, inſtead of money, he ſhould accept of an immenſe territory in America. It was a country which, though long ſince diſcovered, and ſurrounded by Engliſh colonies, had always been neglected. The love of humanity made him accept with pleaſure this kind of patrimony, which was ceded to him almoſt as a ſovereignty; and he determined to make it the abode of virtue, and the aſylum of the unfortunate. With this generous deſign, towards the end of the year 1681, he ſet ſail for his new poſſeſſions, which from that time took the name of Penſylvania. All the quakers were deſirous to follow him, in order to avoid the perſecution raiſed againſt them by the clergy on account of their not complying with the tithes and other eccleſiaſtical fees; but his prudence engaged him to take over no more than two thouſand.

2. *Upon what principles Penſylvania was founded.*

Penn's arrival in the new world was ſignalized by an act of equity which made his perſon and prin-

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ciples equally beloved. Not thoroughly ſatisfied with the right given him to this extenſive territory by the ceſſion of the Engliſh miniſtry, he determined to make it his own property by purchaſing it of the natives. The price he gave to the ſavages is not known; but though ſome people accuſe them of ſtupidity for conſenting to part with what they never ought to have alienated upon any terms; yet Penn is not the leſs entitled to the glory of having given an example of moderation and juſtice in America, never ſo much as thought of before by the Europeans. He made his acquiſition as valid as he could, and by the uſe he made of it he ſupplied any deficiency there might be in the legality of his title. The Americans conceived as great an affection for this colony as they had conceived an averſion for all thoſe which had been founded in their neighbourhood without their conſent. From that time there aroſe a mutual confidence between the two people, founded upon good faith, which nothing has ever been able to ſhake.

Penn's humanity could not be confined to the ſavages only; it extended itſelf to all thoſe who were deſirous of living under his laws. Senſible that the happineſs of the people depended upon the nature of the legiſlation, he founded his upon thoſe two firſt principles of public ſplendor and private felicity; liberty, and property. Here it is that the mind reſts with pleaſure upon modern hiſtory, and feels ſome kind of compenſation for the diſguſt, horror, or melancholy, which the whole of it, but particularly the account of the European ſettlements in America, inſpires. Hitherto we have only ſeen theſe barbarians ſpreading depopulation before they took poſſeſſion, and laying every thing waſte before they cultivated. It is time to obſerve the ſeeds of reaſon, happineſs, and humanity, ſown and ſpringing up amidſt the ruin of an hemiſphere, which ſtill reeks with the blood of all its people, civilized as well as ſavage.

This virtuous legiſlator made toleration the baſis of his ſociety. He admitted every one who acknowledged a God to the rights of a citizen, and made every Chriſtian eligible to ſtate employments. But he left every one at liberty to invoke the Supreme Being as he thought proper; and neither eſtabliſhed a reigning church in Penſylvania, nor exacted contributions for building places of public worſhip, nor compelled any perſons to attend them.

Jealous of immortalizing his name, he veſted in his family the right of nominating the chief governor of the colony: but he ordained that no profits ſhould be annexed to his employment, except ſuch as were voluntarily granted; and that he ſhould have no authority without the concurrence of the deputies of the people. All the citizens, who had an intereſt in the law, by having one in the circumſtance the law was intended to regulate, were to be electors and might be choſen. To avoid as much as poſſible every kind of corruption, it was ordained that the repreſentatives ſhould be choſen by ſuffrages privately given. To eſtabliſh a law, a plurality of voices was ſufficient; but a majority of two thirds was neceſſary to ſettle a tax. Such a tax as this was certainly more like a free gift than a ſubſidy demanded by government; but was it poſſible to grant leſs indulgences to men who were come ſo far in ſearch of peace?

Such was the opinion of that real philoſopher Penn. He gave a thouſand acres to all thoſe who could afford to pay twenty pounds for them. Every one who could not, obtained for himſelf, his wife, each of his children above ſixteen years, and each of his ſervants, fifty acres of land, for the annual quit-rent of about one penny per acre.

To fix theſe properties for ever, he eſtabliſhed tribunals to protect the laws made for the preſervation of property. But it is not protecting the property of lands to make thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of them purchaſe the law that ſecures them; for, in that caſe,

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one is obliged to give away part of one's property in order to ſecure the reſt; and law, in proceſs of time, exhauſts the very treaſures it ſhould preſerve, and the very property it ſhould defend. Leſt any perſon ſhould be found whoſe intereſt it might be to encourage or prolong law-ſuits, he forbade, under very ſtrict penalties, all thoſe who were engaged in the adminiſtration of juſtice, to receive any ſalary or gratification whatſoever. And further, every diſtrict was obliged to chuſe three arbitrators whoſe buſineſs it was to endeavour to prevent, and make up, any diſputes that might happen, before they were carried into a court of juſtice.

This attention to prevent law-ſuits ſprang from the deſire of preventing crimes. All the laws, that they might have no vices to puniſh, were directed to put a ſtop to them even in their very ſources, poverty and idleneſs. It was enacted, that every child above twelve years old ſhould be obliged to learn a profeſſion, let his condition be what it would. This regulation, at the ſame time that it ſecured the poor man a ſubſiſtence, furniſhed the rich man with a reſource againſt every reverſe of fortune; and preſerved the natural equality of mankind, by recalling to every man's remembrance his original deſtination, which is that of labour either of the mind or of the body.

Such primary inſtitutions would be neceſſarily productive of an excellent legiſlation; and accordingly the advantages of that eſtabliſhed by Penn manifeſted itſelf in the rapid and continued proſperity of Penſylvania, which, without either wars, or conqueſts, or ſtruggles, or any of thoſe revolutions which attract the eyes of the vulgar, ſoon became an object fit to excite the admiration of the whole univerſe. Its neighbours, notwithſtanding their ſavage ſtate, were ſoftened by the ſweetneſs of its manners; and diſtant nations, notwithſtanding their corruption, paid homage to its virtues. All were delighted to ſee thoſe heroic days of antiquity realized, which European manners and laws had long taught every one to conſider as entirely fabulous.

3. *Extent, climate, and ſoil, of Penſylvania. Its proſperity.*

PENSYLVANIA is defended to the eaſt by the ocean, to the north by New York and New Jerſey, to the ſouth by Virginia and Maryland, to the weſt by the Indians; on all ſides by friends, and within itſelf by the virtue of its inhabitants. Its coaſts, which are at firſt very narrow, extend gradually to 120 miles; and the breadth of it, which has no other limits than its population and culture, already comprehends 145 miles. The ſky of the colony is pure and ſerene; the climate, very wholeſome of itſelf, has been rendered ſtill more ſo by cultivation; the waters, equally ſalubrious and clear, always flow upon a bed of rock or ſand; the year is tempered by the regular return of the ſeaſons. Winter which begins in the month of January, laſts till the end of March. As it is ſeldom accompanied with clouds or fogs, the cold is, generally ſpeaking, moderate; ſometimes, however, ſharp enough to freeze the largeſt rivers in one night. This revolution, which is as ſhort as it is ſudden, is occaſioned by the north-weſt winds, which blow from the mountains and lakes of Canada. The ſpring is uſhered in by ſoft rains, and by a gentle heat which increaſes gradually till the end of June. The heats of the dog days would be inſupportable, were it not for the refreſhing breezes of the ſouth-weſt wind; but this ſuccour, though pretty conſtant, ſometimes expoſes them to hurricanes that blow down whole foreſts and tear up trees by the roots, eſpecially in the neighbourhood of the ſea, where they are moſt violent. The three autumnal months are commonly attended with no other inconvenience but that of being too rainy.

Though the country is unequal, it is not leſs fertile. The ſoil in ſome places conſiſts of a yellow black ſand, in others it is gravelly, and ſometimes it is a greyiſh aſh upon a ſtony bottom; generally ſpeaking,

ſpeaking, it is a rich earth, particularly between the rivulets, which, interſecting it in all directions, contribute more to the fertility of the country than navigable rivers would.

When the Europeans firſt came into the country, they found nothing in it but wood for building, and iron mines. In proceſs of time, by cutting down the trees, and clearing the ground, they covered it with innumerable herds, with a great variety of fruits, with plantations of flax and hemp, with many kinds of vegetables, with every ſort of grain, and eſpecially with rye and maize; which a happy experience had ſhewn to be particularly proper to the climate. Cultivation was carried on in all parts with ſuch vigour and ſucceſs as excited the aſtoniſhment of all nations.

From whence could ariſe this extraordinary proſperity? From that civil and religious liberty which has attracted the Swedes, Dutch, French, and particularly ſome laborious Germans, into that country. It has been the joint work of Quakers, Anabaptiſts, Church-of-England men, Methodiſts, Preſbyterians, Moravians, Lutherans, and Catholics.

Among the numerous ſects which abound in this country, a very diſtinguiſhed one is that of the Dumplers. It was founded by a German, who diſguſted with the world, retired to an agreeable ſolitude within fifty miles of Philadelphia, in order to be more at liberty to give himſelf up to contemplation. Curioſity brought ſeveral of his countrymen to viſit his retreat; and by degrees his pious, ſimple, and peaceable manners induced them to ſettle near him, and they all formed a little colony, which they called Euphrates, in alluſion to the Hebrews, who uſed to ſing pſalms on the borders of that river.

This little city forms a triangle, the outſides of which are bordered with mulbery and apple trees, planted with regularity. In the middle of the town is a very large orchard; and between the orchard and theſe ranges of trees are houſes, built of wood,

three ſtories high, where every Dumpler is left to enjoy the pleaſures of his meditations without diſturbance. Theſe contemplative men do not amount to above five hundred in all; their territory is about 250 acres in extent, the boundaries of which are marked by a river, a piece of ſtagnated water, and a mountain covered with trees.

The men and women live in ſeparate quarters of the city. They never ſee each other but at places of worſhip, nor are there any aſſemblies of any kind but for public buſineſs. Their life is taken up in labour, prayer, and ſleep. Twice every day and night they are called forth from their cells, to attend divine ſervice. Like the Methodiſts and Quakers, every individual among them poſſeſſes the right of preaching when he thinks himſelf inſpired. The favourite ſubjects on which they love to diſcourſe in their aſſemblies, are humility, temperance, chaſtity, and the other Chriſtian virtues. They never violate the reſt of the Sabbath, which is ſo much the delight of laborious as well as idle men. They admit a hell and a paradiſe; but reject the eternity of future puniſhments. The doctrine of original ſin is with them an impious blaſphemy which they abhor, and in general every tenet cruel to man appears to them injurious to the Divinity. As they do not allow merit to any but voluntary works, they adminiſter baptiſm only to the adult. At the ſame time they think baptiſm ſo eſſentially neceſſary to ſalvation, that they imagine the ſouls of Chriſtians in another world are employed in converting thoſe who have not died under the law of the goſpel.

Still more diſintereſted than the Quakers, they never allow themſelves any law-ſuits. One may cheat, rob, and abuſe them, without ever being expoſed to any retaliation, or even any complaint from them. Religion has the ſame effect on them that philoſophy had upon the Stoics; it makes them inſenſible to every kind of inſult.

Nothing can be plainer than their dreſs. In winter,

ter, it conſiſts of a long white gown, from whence there hangs a hood to ſerve inſtead of a hat, a coarſe ſhirt, thick ſhoes, and very wide breeches. There is no great difference in ſummer, only that linen is uſed inſtead of woolen. The women are dreſſed much like the men except the breeches.

Their common food is only vegetable, not becauſe it is unlawful to make uſe of any other, but becauſe that kind of abſtinence is looked upon as more conformable to the ſpirit of Chriſtianity, which has an averſion for blood. Each individual follows with cheerfulneſs the branch of buſineſs allotted to him. The produce of all their labours is depoſited into a common ſtock, in order to ſupply the neceſſities of every one. Beſides the cultivation, manufactures, and all the arts neceſſary to the little ſociety, which are thus produced by united induſtry, it affords a ſuperfluous part for exchanges proportioned to the population.

Though the two ſexes live ſeparate at Euphrates, the Dumplers do not on that account fooliſhly renounce matrimony. But thoſe who find themſelves diſpoſed to it, leave the city, and form an eſtabliſhment in the country, which is ſupported at the public expence. They repay this by the produce of their labours, which is all thrown into the public treaſury, and their children are ſent to be educated in the mother country. Without this wiſe privilege, the Dumplers would be nothing more than monks, and in proceſs of time would become either ſavages or libertines.

What is moſt edifying, and at the ſame time moſt extraordinary, is, the harmony that ſubſiſts between all the ſects eſtabliſhed in Penſylvania, notwithſtanding the difference of their religious opinions. Tho' they are not all of the ſame church, they all love and cheriſh one another as children of the ſame father. They have always continued to live like brothers, becauſe they had the liberty of thinking as men. It is to this delightful harmony that muſt be attributed more particularly the rapid progreſs of the colony.

At the beginning of the year 1766 its population amounted to 150,000 white people. The number muſt have been conſiderably increaſed from that period, ſince it is doubled every fifteen years, according to Mr Franklin's calculations. There were ſtill thirty thouſand blacks in the province, who met with leſs ill-uſage in this province than in the others, but who were ſtill exceedingly unhappy. A circumſtance, however, not eaſily believed, is, that the ſubjection of the negroes has not corrupted the morals of their maſters; their manners are ſtill pure, and even auſtere, in Penſylvania. Is this ſingular advantage to be aſcribed to the climate, the laws, the religion, the emulation conſtantly ſubſiſting between the different ſects, or to ſome other particular cauſe? Let the reader determine this queſtion.

The Penſylvanians are in general well made, and their women of an agreeable figure. As they ſooner become mothers than in Europe, they ſooner ceaſe breeding. If the heat of the climate ſeems on the one hand to haſten the operations of nature, its inconſtancy weakens them on the other. There is no place where the temperature of the ſky is more uncertain, for it ſometimes changes five or ſix times in the ſame day.

As, however, theſe varieties neither have any dangerous influence upon the vegetables, nor deſtroy the harveſts, there is a conſtant plenty, and an univerſal appearance of eaſe. The œconomy which is ſo particularly attended to in Penſylvania does not prevent both ſexes from being well clothed; and their food is ſtill preferable in its kind to their clothing. The families, whoſe circumſtances are the leaſt eaſy, have all of them bread, meat, cyder, beer, and rum. A very great number are able to afford to drink conſtantly French and Spaniſh wines, punch, and even liquors of a higher price. The abuſe of theſe ſtrong drinks is leſs frequent than in other places, but is not without example.

The pleaſing view of this abundance is never diſturbed

urbed by the melancholy ſight of poverty. There are no poor in all Penſylvania. All thoſe whoſe birth or fortune have left them without reſources, are ſuitably provided for out of the public treaſury. The ſpirit of benevolence is carried ſtill farther, and is extended even to the moſt engaging hoſpitality. A traveller is welcome to ſtop in any place, without the apprehenſions of giving the leaſt uneaſy ſenſation, except that of regret for his departure.

The happineſs of the colony is not diſturbed by the oppreſſive burden of taxes. In 1766, they did not amount to more than 12,256*l.* 2*s.* 6*d.* Moſt of them, even thoſe that were deſigned to repair the damages of war, were to ceaſe in 1772. If the people did not experience this alleviation at that period, it was owing to the eruptions of the ſavages, which had occaſioned extraordinary expences.

The Penſylvanians, happy poſſeſſors and peaceable tenants of a country that uſually renders them twenty or thirty fold for whatever they lay out upon it, are not reſtrained by fear from the propagation of their ſpecies. There is hardly an unmarried perſon to be met with in the country. Marriage is only the more happy and the more reverenced for it. The freedom as well as the ſanctity of it depends upon the choice of the parties: they chuſe the lawyer and prieſt rather as witneſſes, than miniſters, of the engagement. Whenever two lovers meet with any oppoſition, they go off on horſeback together. The man gets behind his miſtreſs; and in this ſituation they preſent themſelves before the magiſtrate, where the girl declares ſhe has run away with her lover, and that they are come to be married. So ſolemn an avowal cannot be rejected, nor has any perſon a right to give them any moleſtation. In all other caſes, paternal authority is exceſſive. The head of a family, whoſe affairs are involved, is allowed to engage his children to his creditors; a puniſhment, one ſhould imagine, very ſufficient to induce a fond father to attend to his affairs. A man grown up acquits in one year's ſervice a debt

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of 5*l.* and children under twelve years of age are obliged to ſerve till they are one and twenty, to pay one of 6*l.* This is an image of the old patriarchal manners of the Eaſt.

Tho' there are ſeveral villages, and even ſome cities, in the colony, moſt of the inhabitants may be ſaid to live ſeparately, as it were within their families. Every proprietor of land has his houſe in the midſt of a large plantation entirely ſurrounded with quickſet hedges. Of courſe each pariſh is near twelve or fifteen leagues in circumference. This diſtance of the churches makes the ceremonies of religion have little effect, and ſtill leſs influence. Children are not baptized till a few months, and ſometimes not till a year or two, after their birth.

All the pomp of religion ſeems reſerved for the laſt honours man receives before he is ſhut up in the grave for ever. As ſoon as any one is dead in the country, the neareſt neighbours have notice given them of the day of burial. Theſe ſpread it in the habitations next to theirs, and within a few hours the news is thus conveyed to a diſtance. Every family ſends at leaſt one perſon to attend the funeral. As they come in, they are preſented with punch and cake. When the aſſembly is complete, the corpſe is carried to the burying ground belonging to his ſect; or, if that ſhould be at too great a diſtance, into one of the fields belonging to the family. There is generally a train of four or five hundred perſons on horſeback, who obſerve a continual ſilence, and have all the external appearance ſuited to the melancholy nature of the ceremony. One ſingular circumſtance is, that the Penſylvanians, who are the greateſt enemies to parade during their lives, ſeem to forget this character of modeſty at their deaths. They all are deſirous that the poor remains of their ſhort lives ſhould be attended with a funeral pomp ſuited to their rank or fortune.

It is a general obſervation, that plain and virtuous nations, even ſavage and poor ones, are remarkably attached to the care of their burials. The reaſon of it

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is, that they look upon theſe laſt honours as duties of the ſurvivors, and the duties themſelves as ſo many diſtinct proofs of that principle of love which is very ſtrong in private families whilſt they are in a ſtate neareſt to that of nature. It is not the dying man himſelf who exacts theſe honours; it is his parents, his wife, his children, who voluntarly pay them to the aſhes of a huſband and father that has deſerved to be lamented. Theſe ceremonies have always more numerous attendants in ſmall ſocieties than in larger ones; becauſe, though there are fewer families upon the whole, the number of individuals there is much larger, and all the ties that connect them with each other are much ſtronger. This kind of intimate union has been the reaſon why ſo many ſmall nations have overcome larger ones; it drove Xerxes and the Perſians out of Greece, and it will ſome time or other expel the French out of Corſica.

But from whence does Penſylvania draw the materials for her own conſumption, and in what manner does ſhe contrive to be abundantly furniſhed with them? With the flax and hemp that are produced at home, and the cotton ſhe procures from South America, ſhe fabricates a great quantity of ordinary linens; and with the wool that comes from Europe ſhe manufactures many coarſe cloths. Whatever her own induſtry is not able to furniſh, ſhe purchaſes with the produce of her territory. Her ſhips carry over to the Britiſh, French, Dutch, and Daniſh iſlands, biſcuit, flour, butter, cheeſe, tallow, vegetables, fruits, ſalt meat, cyder, beer, and all ſorts of wood for building. The cotton, ſugar, coffee, brandy and money, they receive in exchange, are ſo many materials for a freſh commerce with the mother country, and with other European nations as well as with other colonies. The Azores, Madeira, the Canaries, Spain, and Portugal, open an advantageous market to the corn and wood of Penſylvania, which they purchaſe with wine and piaſtres. The mother country receives from Penſylvania iron, flax,

leather,

leather, furs, linſeed oil, maſts and yards; for which it returns thread, wool, fine cloths, tea, Iriſh and India linens, hard-ware, and other articles of luxury or neceſſity. As theſe, however, amount to a much greater ſum than what it buys, Britain may be conſidered as a gulph in which all the metals Penſylvania has drawn from the other parts of the world are ſunk again. In 1723, Britain ſent over goods to Penſylvania only to the value of 10,937*l.* 10*s.* at preſent ſhe furniſhes to the amount of 437,500*l.* This ſum is too conſiderable for the coloniſts to be able to pay it, even in depriving themſelves of all the gold they draw from other markets; and this inability muſt continue as long as the improvement of their cultures ſhall require more conſiderable advances than their produce yields. Other colonies which enjoy almoſt excluſively ſome branches of trade, ſuch as rice, tobacco, and indigo, muſt have grown rich very rapidly. Penſylvania, whoſe riches are founded on agriculture and the increaſe of her flocks, will acquire them more gradually; but her proſperity will be fixed upon a more firm and permanent baſis.

If any circumſtance can retard the progreſs of the colony, it muſt be the irregular manner in which the plantations are formed. Penn's family, who are the proprietors of all the lands, grant them indiſcriminately in all parts, and in as large a proportion as they are required, provided they are paid 6*l.* 11*s.* 3*d.* for each hundred acres, and that the purchaſers agree to give an annual rent of about one halfpenny. The conſequence of this is, that the province wants that ſort of connection which is neceſſary in all things, and that the ſcattered inhabitants eaſily become the prey of the moſt inſignificant enemy that will venture to attack them.

The habitations are cleared in different ways in the colony. Sometimes a huntſman will ſettle in the midſt of a foreſt, or quite cloſe to it. His neareſt neighbours aſſiſt him in cutting down trees, and heaping them up one over another; and this conſtitutes

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a houſe. Around this ſpot he cultivates, without any aſſiſtance, a garden or a field, ſufficient to ſubſiſt himſelf and his family.

A few years after the firſt labours were finiſhed, ſome more active and richer men arrived from the mother country. They paid the huntſman for his pains, and agreed with the proprietors of the provinces for ſome lands that had not been paid for. They built more commodious habitations, and cleared a greater extent of territory.

At length ſome Germans, who came into the new world from inclination, or were driven into it by perſecution, completed theſe ſettlements that were as yet unfiniſhed. The firſt and ſecond order of planters removed their induſtry into other parts, with a more conſiderable ſtock for carrying on their cultures than they had at firſt.

The annual exports of Penſylvania may be valued at 25,000 tons. It receives four hundred ſhips, and fits out about an equal number. They all, or almoſt all, come into PHILADELPHIA, which is the capital, from whence they are alſo diſpatched.

This famous city, whoſe very name recalls every humane feeling, is ſituated at the confiux of the Delaware and the Schuylkill, about 120 miles from the ſea. Penn, who deſtined it for the metropolis of a great empire, deſigned it to be one mile in breadth, and two in length between the rivers; but its population has proved inſufficient to cover this extent of ground. Hitherto they have built only upon the banks of the Delaware; but without giving up the ideas of the legiſlator, or deviating from his plan. Theſe precautions are highly proper: Philadelphia muſt become the moſt conſiderable city of America, becauſe it is impoſſible that the colony ſhould not improve greatly, and its productions muſt paſs through the harbour of the capital before they arrive at the ſea. The ſtreets of Philadelphia, which are all regular, are in general fifty feet broad; the two principal ones are a hundred. On each ſide of

them,

them, there are foot-paths, guarded by poſts placed at different diſtances. The houſes, each of which has its garden and orchard, are commonly two ſtories high; and are built either of brick, or of a kind of ſoft ſtone, which grows hard by being expoſed to the air. Till very lately the walls had but little thickneſs, becauſe they were only to be covered with a very light kind of wood. Since the diſcovery of ſlate quarries, the walls have acquired a ſolidity proportioned to the weight of the new roofs. The preſent buildings have received an additional decoration from a kind of marble of different colours, which is found about a mile out of the town. Of this they make tables, chimney-pieces, and other houſhold furniture: beſides which it is become a pretty conſiderable object of commerce with the greateſt part of America.

Theſe valuable materials could not have been commonly found in the houſes, if they had not been laviſhed in the churches. Every ſect has its own church, and ſome of them have ſeveral.

The town-houſe is a building held in as much veneration, though not ſo much frequented, as the churches. It is conſtructed in the moſt ſumptuous magnificence. It is there that the legiſlators of the colony aſſemble every year, and more frequently, if neceſſary, to ſettle every thing relative to public buſineſs; the whole of which is ſubmitted to the authority of the nation in the perſons of its repreſentatives. Next to the town-houſe is a moſt elegant library, which owes its exiſtence to the care of the learned Doctor Franklin. In it are found the beſt Engliſh, French, and Latin authors. It is only open to the public on Saturdays. Thoſe who have founded it have a free acceſs to it the whole year. The reſt pay a trifle for the loan of the books, and a forfeit if they are not returned in due time. This little fund conſtantly accumulating, is appropriated to the increaſe of the library; to which have been lately added, in order to make it more uſeful, ſome mathematical and philoſophical inſtruments, with a very fine cabinet of natural hiſtory.

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The college, which is intended to prepare the mind for the attainment of all the ſciences, was founded in 1749. At firſt, it only initiated the youth in the Belles Lettres. In 1764 a claſs of medicine was eſtabliſhed there. Knowledge of every kind and adepts in the ſciences will increaſe in proportion as the lands, which are become their patrimony, ſhall yield a greater produce. If ever deſpotiſm, ſuperſtition, or war, ſhould plunge Europe again into that ſtate of barbariſm from whence philoſophy and the arts have drawn it, the ſacred fire will be kept alive in Philadelphia, and come from thence to enlighten the world. This city is amply ſupplied with every aſſiſtance human nature can require, and with all the reſources induſtry can make uſe of. Its keys, the principal of which is two hundred feet wide, preſent a ſuite of convenient warehouſes and receſſes ingeniouſly contrived for ſhip-building. Ships of five hundred tons may land there without any difficulty, except in the times of froſt. There they load the merchandiſe which has either come down the Schuylkill and Delaware, or along roads better than are to be met with in moſt parts of Europe. Police has made a greater progreſs in this part of the new world, than among the moſt ancient nations of the old. It is impoſſible to determine preciſely the population of Philadelphia, as the bills of mortality are not kept with any exactneſs, and there are ſeveral ſects who do not chriſten their children. It appears a fact, however, that in 1766 it contained twenty thouſand inhabitants. As moſt of them are employed in the ſale of the productions of the colony, and in ſupplying it with what they draw from abroad, it is impoſſible that their fortunes ſhould not be very conſiderable; and they muſt increaſe ſtill further, in proportion as the cultivation advances in a country where hitherto not above one ſixth of the land has been cleared.

Philadelphia, as well as Newcaſtle and the other cities of Penſylvania, is entirely open. The whole

country is equally without defence. This is a neceſſary conſequence of the principles of the Quakers, who have always maintained the principal influence in the public deliberations, though they do not form above one third part of the population of the colony. Theſe ſectaries cannot be too much favoured on account of their modeſty, probity, love of labour, and benevolence. One might, perhaps, be tempted to accuſe their legiſlation of imprudence and temerity.

When they eſtabliſhed that civil liberty which protects one citizen from another, ought not the founders of the colony to have taken ſome pains for the maintainance of political liberty alſo, which protects one ſtate from the encroachments of another? The authority which exerts itſelf to maintain peace and good order at home, ſeems to have done nothing if it has not prevented invaſion from abroad. To pretend that the colony would never have any enemies, was to ſuppoſe the world peopled with Quakers. It was encouraging the ſtrong to fall upon the weak, leaving the lamb to the mercy of the wolf, and giving up all the country to the oppreſſive yoke of the firſt tyrant who ſhould think proper to ſubdue it.

But, on the other hand, how ſhall we reconcile the ſtrictneſs of the goſpel-maxims, by which the Quakers are literally governed, with that appearance of force, either for offence or defence, which puts all Chriſtian nations in a continual ſtate of war with each other? Beſides, what could the French or the Spaniards do if they were to enter Penſylvania ſword in hand? Unleſs they ſhould deſtroy in one night, or in one day, all the inhabitants of that fortunate region, they would not be able to cut off the race of thoſe mild and charitable men. Violence has its boundaries in its very exceſs; it conſumes and extinguiſhes itſelf, as the fire in the aſhes that feed it. But virtue, when guided by humanity and brotherly love, reanimates itſelf as the tree under the edge of the pruning knife. Wicked men ſtand in need of num-

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bers to execute their ſanguinary projects. But the juſt man, or the Quaker, requires only a brother from whom he may receive, or to whom he may give, aſſiſtance. Let then, the warlike nations, people who are either ſlaves or tyrants, go into Penſylvania: there they will find all avenues open to them, all property at their diſpoſal; not a ſingle ſoldier, but numbers of merchants and farmers. But if they are tormented, reſtrained, or oppreſſed, they will fly, and leave their lands uncultviated, their manufactures deſtroyed, and their ware-houſes empty. They will go and cultivate, and ſpread population in ſome new land; they will go round the world, and expire in their progreſs rather than turn their arms againſt their purſuers, or ſubmit to bear their yoke. Their enemies will have acquired nothing but the hatred of mankind and the curſes of poſterity.

It is upon this proſpect and on this foreſight, that the Penſylvanians have founded the opinion of their future ſecurity. At preſent they have nothing to fear from behind, ſince the French have loſt Canada; and the flanks of the colony are ſufficiently covered by the Britiſh ſettlements. As for the reſt, as they do not ſee that the moſt warlike ſtates are the moſt durable; or that miſtruſt, which is always awake, makes them reſt in greater quiet; or that there is any kind of ſatisfaction in the enjoyment of that which is held with ſo much fear; they live for the preſent moment, without any thought of a future day. Perhaps, too, they may think themſelves ſecured by thoſe very precautions that are taken in the colonies that ſurround them. One of the barriers or bulwarks that preſerves Penſylvania from a maritime invaſion to which it is expoſed, is Virginia.

CHAP. II.

Of VIRGINIA and MARYLAND.

1. *Wretched ſtate of Virginia at its firſt ſettlement.*

VIRGINIA, which was intended to denote all that extenſive ſpace which the Engliſh propoſed to occupy in the continent of North America, is at preſent confined within much narrower limits. It now comprehends only that country which is bounded to the north by Maryland, to the ſouth by Carolina, to the weſt by the Apalachian mountains, and to the eaſt by the ocean. This ſpace contains two hundred and forty miles in length, and two hundred in breadth.

It was in 1606 that the Engliſh firſt landed at Virginia; and there firſt ſettlement was James-Town. Unfortunately the firſt object that preſented itſelf to them was a rivulet, which, iſſuing from a ſand-bank, drew after it a quantity of talc, which glittered at the bottom of a clear and running water. In an age when gold and ſilver mines were the only objects of mens reſearches, this deſpicable ſubſtance was immediately taken for ſilver. Every other labour was inſtantly ſuſpended to acquire it. And the illuſion was ſo complete, that two ſhips, which had arrived there with neceſſaries, were ſent home ſo fully freighted with theſe imaginary riches, that there ſcarce remained any room for a few furs. As long as the infatuation laſted, the coloniſts diſdained to employ themſelves in clearing the lands; ſo that a dreadful famine was at laſt the conſequence of this fooliſh pride. Sixty men only remained alive out of five hundred that had come from Europe. Theſe few, having only a fortnight's proviſion left, were upon the point of embarking for Newfoundland, when lord Delaware arrived there with three ſhips, a freſh colony, and ſupplies of all kinds.

Hiſtory has deſcribed this nobleman to us as a man whoſe genius raiſed him above the common prejudices of the times. His diſintereſtedneſs was equal to his knowledge. In accepting the government of the colony, which was ſtill in its infancy, his only motives had been to gratify the inclination a virtuous mind has to do good, and to ſecure the eſteem of poſterity, which is the ſecond reward of that generoſity that devotes itſelf totally to the ſervice of the public. As ſoon as he appeared, the knowledge of his character procured him univerſal reſpect. He began by endeavouring to reconcile the wretched coloniſts to their fatal country, to comfort them in their ſufferings, to make them hope for a ſpeedy concluſion of them. After this, joining the firmneſs of an enlightned magiſtrate to the tenderneſs of a good father, he taught them how to direct their labours to an uſeful end. For the misfortune of the reviving colony, Delaware's declining health ſoon obliged him to return to Europe; but he never loſt ſight of his favourite coloniſts, nor ever failed to make uſe of all his credit and intereſt at court to ſupport them. The colony, however, made but little progreſs; a circumſtance that was attributed to the oppreſſion of excluſive privileges. The company which exerciſed them was diſſolved upon Charles I.'s acceſſion to the throne; and from that time Virginia was under the immediate direction of the crown, which exacted no more than a rent of 2 s. upon every hundred acres that were cultivated.

Till this moment the coloniſts had known no true enjoyment of property. Every individual wandered where chance directed him, or fixed himſelf in the place he liked beſt, without conſulting any titles or agreements. At length, boundaries were aſcertained; and thoſe who had been ſo long wanderers, now become citizens, had determined limits to their plantations. The eſtabliſhment of this firſt law of ſociety changed the appearance of every thing. New buildings aroſe on all ſides, and were ſurrounded by freſh cultivations. This activity drew great numbers of enterpriſing men over to Virginia, who came in ſearch either of fortune,

or of liberty, which is the only compenſation for the want of it. The memorable troubles that produced a change in the conſtitution of England added to theſe a multitude of Royaliſts, who went there with a reſolution to wait with Berkley, the governor of the colony, who was alſo attached to king Charles, the deciſion of that deſerted monarch's fate. Berkley ſtill continued to protect them, even after the king's death; but ſome of the inhabitants, either ſeduced or intimidated, and ſeconded by the approach of a powerful fleet, delivered up the colony to the Protector. If the governor was compelled to follow the ſtream againſt his will, he was at leaſt, among thoſe whom Charles had honoured with poſts of confidence and rank, the laſt who ſubmitted to Cromwell, and the firſt who ſhook off his yoke. This brave man was ſinking under the oppreſſion of the times, when the voice of the people recalled him to the place which his ſucceſſor's death had left vacant; but far from yielding to theſe flattering ſolicitations, he declared that he never would ſerve any but the legitimate heirs of the dethroned monarch. Such an example of magnanimity, at a time when there were no hopes of the reſtoration of the royal family, made ſuch an impreſſion upon the minds of the people, that Charles II. was proclaimed in Virginia before he had been proclaimed in England.

The colony did not, however, receive all the benefit from ſuch a ſtep which might naturally have been expected from it. Whilſt the court, on one hand, granted to rapacious men of family exorbitant privileges, which ſwallowed up the properties of ſeveral obſcure coloniſts; the parliament, on the other, laid exceſſive taxes upon both the exports from and imports to Virginia. This double oppreſſion drained all the reſources and diſpelled all the hopes of the colony; and, to complete its misfortune, the ſavages, who had never been ſufficiently careſſed, took that opportunity to renew their incurſions with a ſpirit and uniformity of deſign that had never been yet known.

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Such a complication of misfortunes drove the Virginians to deſpair. Berkley, who had ſo long been their idol, was accuſed of wanting fortitude to reſiſt the oppreſſions of the mother country, and activity to repel the irruptions of the ſavages. The eyes of all were immediately fixed upon Bacon, a young officer, full of vivacity, eloquence, and intrepidity, of an inſinuating diſpoſition and an agreeable perſon. They choſe him for their general in an irregular and tumultuous manner. Though his military ſucceſſes might have juſtified this prepoſſeſſion of the licentious multitude, yet this did not prevent the governor from declaring Bacon a traitor to his country. A ſentence ſo ſevere, and which was imprudent at the time, determined Bacon to aſſume a power by force which he had exerciſed peaceably and without oppoſition for ſix months. His death put a ſtop to all his projects. The malecontents, diſunited by the death of their chief, and intimidated by the troops which were coming from Europe, were induced to ſue for pardon, which was readily granted them. The rebellion, therefore, was attended with no bad conſequences. Mercy inſured obedience; and ſince that remarkable criſis, the hiſtory of Virginia has been confined to the account of its plantations.

2. *Adminiſtration of Virginia.*

THIS great eſtabliſhment was governed at the beginning by perſons placed at the head of it by the company. Virginia afterwards attracted the attention of the mother country; which in 1620 gave it a regular form of government, compoſed of a chief, a council, and deputies from each county; to whoſe united care the intereſts of the province were committed. At firſt, the council and repreſentatives of the people uſed to meet in the ſame room: but in 1689 they divided, and had each their ſeparate chamber,

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in imitation of the parliament of England. This cuſtom has been continued ever ſince.

The governor, who is always appointed by the king, and for an unlimited period, has the ſole diſpoſal of the regular troops, the militia, and of all military employments, as well as the power of approving or rejecting whatever laws are propoſed by the general aſſembly. Beſides this, with the concurrence of the council, to which he leaves very little power in other matters, he may either prorogue or entirely diſſolve this kind of parliament: he chuſes all magiſtrates, and all the collectors of the revenue; he alienates the unoccupied lands in a manner ſuitable to the eſtabliſhed forms, and diſpoſes of the public treaſure. So many prerogatives, which lead on to uſurpation, render government more arbitrary at Virginia than it is in the more northern colonies: they frequently open the door to oppreſſion.

The council is compoſed of twelve members, created either by letters patent, or by particular order from the king. When there happen to be leſs than nine in the country, the governor chuſes three out of the principal inhabitants to make up the number. They form a kind of upper-houſe, and are at the ſame time to aſſiſt the adminiſtration, and to counteract tyranny They have alſo the power of rejecting all acts paſſed in the lower houſe. The ſalaries of the whole body amount to no more than 384*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* halfpenny.

Virginia is divided into 25 counties, each of which ſends two deputies. James-town and the college have each of them ſeparately the right of naming one, which make up in all 52. Every inhabitant poſſeſſed of a freehold, except only women and minors, has the right of election, and that of being elected. Though there is no time fixed by law for holding the general aſſembly, it commonly meets either once a year, or once in every two years; and the meeting is very ſeldom deferred till three. The frequency of theſe meetings is infallibly kept up by the precaution

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of granting ſupplies only for a ſhort time. All acts paſſed in the two houſes muſt be ſent over to the ſovereign, to receive his ſanction; but till that returns, they are always in force, when they have been approved by the governor.

The public revenues of Virginia are collected from different ſources, and appropriated in different manners. The tax of 1*s.* 11*d.* halfpenny upon every quintal of tobacco; that of 14*s.* 9*d.* per ton, which every veſſel full or empty is obliged to pay at its return from a voyage; that of 9*s.* 10*d.* a-head exacted from all paſſengers, ſlaves as well as free men, upon their arrival in the colony; the penalties and forfeitures appointed by different acts of the province; the duty upon both the lands and perſonal eſtates of thoſe who leave no legitimate heir; theſe different articles, which together amount to 3,062*l.* 10*s.* are to be employed in the current expences of the colony, according to the direction of the governor and the council. The general aſſembly has nothing more to do in this matter but to audit the accounts.

This aſſembly, however, has reſerved to itſelf the ſole diſpoſition of the funds raiſed for extraordinary ſervices. Theſe ariſe from a duty of entrance upon ſtrong liquors, from one of 19*s.* 8*d.* farthing upon every ſlave, and one of about 14*s.* 9*d.* upon every ſervant, not an Engliſhman, that enters the colony. A revenue of this nature muſt be extremely variable; but in general it is pretty conſiderable, and has been uſually well adminiſtered.

Beſides theſe taxes which are paid in money, there are others paid in kind. They are a ſort of a triple poll-tax on the article of tobacco, which the white women only are exempted from. The firſt is raiſed by order of the general aſſembly, for the purpoſe of paying the expences of its meeting, for that of the militia, and for ſome other national exigences. The ſecond, which is called provincial, is impoſed by the juſtices of the peace in each county for its particular uſes. The third is parochial, raiſed by

by the chief perſons of the community, upon every thing that has more or leſs connection with the eſtabliſhed form of worſhip.

In the beginning juſtice was adminiſtered with that kind of diſintereſtedneſs which was itſelf the ſecurity for the equity obſerved in it. One ſingle court had the cognizance of all cauſes, and uſed to decide them in a few days, leaving only an appeal to the general aſſembly, which was not leſs diligent in terminating them. So good a ſyſtem did not continue long: in 1692 all the ſtatutes and formalities of the mother country were adopted, and all the chicanery of it was introduced along with them. Since that time every county has its diſtinct tribunal, compoſed of a ſheriff, his under-officers, and juries. From theſe courts all cauſes are carried to the council, where the governor preſides, who has the power of determining finally in all concerns as far as about 295*l.* If the ſums contended for are more conſiderable, the conteſt may be referred to the king: in all criminal matters the council pronounces without appeal: not that the life of a citizen is of leſs conſequence than his property, but becauſe the application of the law is much eaſier in criminal than in civil cauſes. The governor has the right of pardoning in all caſes but thoſe of wilful murder and high treaſon, and even in theſe he may ſuſpend the execution of the ſentence till he has ſent to know the king's pleaſure.

With reſpect to religion, the inhabitants not only began themſelves by profeſſing that of the church of England; but, in 1642, the aſſembly paſſed a decree, which indirectly excluded from the province all thoſe who ſhould not be of this communion. The neceſſity of peopling the country ſoon occaſioned the repeal of this law, which was rather of a hierarchal than of a religious nature. A toleration granted ſo late, and evidently with reluctance, produced no great effect. Only five non-conformiſt churches were added to the colony, one of which conſiſted of Preſbyterians, three of Quakers, and one of French refugees.

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The mother church has 39 pariſhes. Every pariſh chuſes its miniſter; who muſt, however, be approved of by the governor before he takes poſſeſſion. In ſome pariſhes, he is paid in land, and furniſhed with all the neceſſary inſtruments for cultivating it; in others, his ſalary is 16,000 pounds weight of tobacco. Beſides this, he receives either about 4*s.* 11*d.* or fifty pounds of tobacco, for every marriage; and 1*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.* halfpenny, or four hundred pounds of tobacco, for every funeral ſermon, which he is obliged to make over the grave of every free-man. With all theſe advantages, moſt of the clergy are not contented, becauſe they may be deprived of their benefices by thoſe who conferred them.

At firſt the colony was inhabited only by men; ſoon after, they grew deſirous of ſharing the ſweets of their ſituation with female companions. In the beginning they gave 98*l.* 8*s.* 9*d.* for every young perſon that was brought them, from whom they required no other dowry than a certificate of virtue. When the ſalubrity and fertility of the climate were aſcertained, whole families, and even ſome of reſpectable condition, went over to ſettle in Virginia. In time they increaſed to ſuch a degree, that in 1703 there were already 66,606 white people in the colony. If ſince that time they have not increaſed above a ſixth, it muſt be attributed to a pretty conſiderable emigration occaſioned by the arrival of the blacks.

The firſt of theſe ſlaves were brought into Virginia by a Dutch ſhip in 1621. Their number was not conſiderable at firſt; but the increaſe of them has been ſo prodigious ſince the beginning of this century, that there are at preſent 110,000 negroes in the colony; which occaſions a double loſs to mankind, firſt, in exhauſting the population of Africa; and ſecondly, in preventing that of the Europeans in America.

Virginia has neither fortified places nor regular troops; they would be uſeleſs in a province, which

from its ſituation and the nature of its productions is protected both from foreign invaſions, and from the incurſions of the ſavages wandering about this vaſt continent, who have long been too weak to attack it. The militia, which is compoſed of all the free-men from ſixteen to ſixty years of age, is ſufficient to keep the ſlaves in order. Every county reviews all its troops once, and the ſeparate companies three or four times a year. Upon the leaſt alarm given in any particular part of the country, all the forces in it march. If they are out more than two days, they receive pay; if not, it is reckoned a part of their ſtated ſervice. Such is the government of Virginia, and ſuch is very nearly that of Maryland; which, after having been included in this colony, was ſeparated from it for reaſons which muſt be explained.

3. *Maryland is detached from Virginia.*

CHARLES the Firſt, far from having any averſion for the Catholics, had ſome reaſon to protect them, from the zeal, which, in hopes of being tolerated, they had ſhewn for his intereſt. But when the accuſation of being favourable to popery had alienated the minds of the people from that weak prince, whoſe chief aim was to eſtabliſh a deſpotic government, he was obliged to give the Catholics up to the rigour of the laws enacted againſt them by Henry the Eighth. Theſe circumſtances induced lord Baltimore to ſeek an aſylum in Virginia, where he might be indulged in a liberty of conſcience. As he found there no toleration for an excluſive faith which was itſelf intolerant, he formed the deſign of a new ſettlement in that uninhabited part of the country which lay between the river of Potowmack and Penſylvania. His death, which happened ſoon after he had obtained powers from the crown for peopling this land, put a ſtop to the project for that time; but it was reſumed, from the ſame religious motives, by his ſon.

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This young nobleman left England in the year 1633, with two hundred Roman Catholics, moſt of them of good families. The education they had received, the cauſe of religion for which they left their country, and the fortune which their leader promiſed them, prevented thoſe diſturbances which are but too common in infant ſettlements. The neighbouring ſavages, prevailed upon by mildneſs and acts of beneficence, concurred with eagerneſs to aſſiſt the new coloniſts in forming their ſettlement. With this unexpected help theſe fortunate perſons, attached to each other by the ſame principles of religion, and directed by the prudent counſels of their chief, applied themſelves unanimouſly to every kind of uſeful labour: the view of the peace and happineſs they enjoyed, invited among them a number of men who were perſecuted either for the ſame religion, or for different opinions.

The Catholics of Maryland gave up at length the intolerant principles, of which they themſelves had been the victims after having firſt ſet the example of them, and opened the doors of their colony to all ſects of what religious principles ſoever. Baltimore alſo granted the moſt extenſive civil liberty to every ſtranger who choſe to purchaſe lands in his new colony, the government of which was modelled upon that of the mother country.

Theſe wiſe and generous precautions, however, did not ſecure the governor, at the time of the ſubverſion of the monarchy, from loſing all the rights and conceſſions that he had obtained. Deprived of his poſſeſſions by Cromwell, he was reſtored to them by Charles II. after which they were again diſputed with him. Tho' he was perfectly clear from any reproach of mal-adminiſtration; and though he was extremely zealous for the Tramontane doctrines, and much attached to the intereſt of the Stuarts; yet he had the mortification of finding the legality of his charter attacked under the arbitrary reign of James II. and of being obliged to maintain an action at law

for the juriſdiction of a province which had been ceded to him by the crown, and which he himſelf had peopled. This prince, whoſe misfortune it had always been, never to have known his friends from his foes, and who had alſo the ridiculous pride to think that regal authority was ſufficient to juſtify every act of violence, was preparing a ſecond time to deprive Baltimore, of what had been given him by two kings, his father and his brother; when he was himſelf removed from the throne which he filled ſo ill. The ſucceſſor of this weak deſpotic prince terminated this conteſt, which had ariſen before his acceſſion to the crown, in a manner worthy of his political character. He left the Baltimores in poſſeſſion of their revenues, but deprived them of their authority; which, however, they likewiſe recovered, upon becoming members of the church of England.

The province is at preſent divided into eleven counties, and inhabited by 40,000 white men and 60,000 blacks. It is governed by a chief, who is named by the proprietor, and by a council and two deputies choſen in each county. The governor, like the king in the other colonies, has a negative voice in all acts propoſed by the aſſembly; that is to ſay, the right of rejecting them.

4. *Virginia and Maryland cultivate the ſame productions.*

If Maryland were re-united to Virginia, as their common intereſt ſeems to require, no difference could be found between the two ſettlements. They are ſituated between Penſylvania and Carolina, and occupy the great ſpace that extends from the ſea to the Apalachian mountains. The air, which is damp on the coaſt, becomes light, pure, and ſubtle, as one approaches the mountains. The ſpring and autumn months are of an excellent temperature: in ſummer there are ſome days exceſſively hot, and in winter

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ſome extremely cold; but neither of theſe exceſſes laſts above a week at a time. The moſt diſagreeable circumſtance in the climate is the abundance of nauſeous inſects that are found there.

All the domeſtic animals multiply prodigiouſly; and all ſorts of fruits, trees, and vegetables, ſucceed there extremely well. There is the beſt corn in all America. The ſoil, which is rich and fertile in the low lands, is always good, even in thoſe places where it becomes more ſandy; more irregular than it is deſcribed by ſome travellers, but tolerably even till one comes near the mountains.

From theſe reſervoirs an incredible number of rivers flow, moſt of which are ſeparated only by an interval of five or ſix miles. Beſides the fertility which theſe waters impart to the country they paſs through, they alſo make it infinitely more convenient for trade than any other part of the new world, from facilitating the communications.

Moſt of theſe rivers have a very extenſive inland navigation for merchant-ſhips, and ſome of them for men of war. One may go near two hundred miles up the Potowmack; above eighty up the James, the York, and the Rapahannock; and, upon the other rivers, to a diſtance that varies according as the cataracts are more or leſs diſtant from their mouths. All theſe navigable canals, formed by nature, meet in the bay of Cheſapeak, which has from ſeven to nine fathom water both at its entrance and in its whole extent. It reaches above two hundred miles in the inland parts of the country, and is about twelve miles in its mean breadth. Tho' it is full of ſmall iſlands, moſt of them covered with wood, it is by no means dangerous; and ſo large, that all the ſhips in the univerſe might ride there with eaſe.

So uncommon an advantage has prevented the formation of any large towns in the two colonies; and accordingly the inhabitants, who were aſſured that the ſhips would come up to their warehouſes, and that they might embark their commodities with-

out going from their own houſes, have diſperſed themſelves upon the borders of the ſeveral rivers. In this ſituation, they found all the pleaſures of a rural life, united to all the eaſe that trade brings into cities; they found the facility of extending their cultivation in a country that had no bounds, united to all the aſſiſtance which the fertilization of the lands receives from commerce. But the mother country ſuffered a double inconvenience from this diſperſion of the coloniſts: firſt, becauſe her ſailors were longer abſent, by being obliged to collect their cargoes from theſe ſcattered habitations; and ſecondly, becauſe their ſhips are expoſed to injury from thoſe dangerous inſects, which in the months of June and July infeſt all the rivers of this diſtant region. The miniſtry has therefore neglected no means of engaging the coloniſts to eſtabliſh ſtaples for the reception of their commodities. The conſtraint of the laws has not had more effect than perſuaſion. At length, a few years ago, forts were ordered to be built at the entrance of every river, to protect the loading and unloading of the ſhips. If this project had not failed in the execution from the want of a ſufficient fund, it is probable that the inhabitants would have collected imperceptibly round each of theſe fortreſſes. But it may ſtill be queſtioned, whether this circumſtance would not have proved fatal to population, and whether agriculture might not have loſt as much as commerce would have gained by it?

Be this as it may, it is certain that there are but two towns at preſent of any kind of note in the two colonies. Even thoſe which are the ſeat of government are of no great importance. Williamſburgh the capital of Virginia, and Annapolis that of Maryland, the firſt riſen upon the ruins of James-town, the other upon thoſe of St Mary, are neither of them ſuperior to one of our common villages.

As, in all human affairs, every good is attended with ſome kind of evil; ſo it has happened, that the

the increaſe of habitations, by retarding the population of towns, has prevented any artiſts or manufacturers from being formed in either of the provinces. With all the materials neceſſary to ſupply them with moſt of their wants, and even with ſeveral of their conveniences, they are ſtill obliged to draw from Europe their cloths, linens, hats, hardware, and even furniture of the moſt ordinary kind.

Theſe numerous and general expences have exhauſted the inhabitants; beſides which, they have vied with each other in diſplaying every kind of luxury before all the Britiſh merchants who viſit their plantations from motives of commercial intereſt. By theſe means, they have run ſo much in debt with the mother country, that many of them have been obliged to ſell their lands; or, in order ſtill to keep poſſeſſion of them, to mortgage them at an uſurious intereſt of eight or nine *per cent.*

It will be no eaſy matter for the two provinces ever to emerge from this deſperate ſtate. Their navy does not amount to above a thouſand tons; and all they ſend to the Carribbee iſlands in corn, cattle, and planks, with all they expedite for Europe in hemp, flax, leather, peltry, and walnut-tree or cedar wood, does not bring them a return of more than 43,750*l.* The only reſource they have left is in tobacco.

5. *Of the Tobacco-trade.*

Tobacco is a ſharp, cauſtic, and even venomous plant, which has been formerly of great repute, and is ſtill uſed in medicine. Every body is acquainted with the general conſumption made of it, by chewing, ſmoking, or taking ſnuff. It was diſcovered in the year 1520 by the Spainiards, who found it firſt in the Jucatan, a large peninſula in the gulph of Mexico, from whence it was carried into the neighbouring iſlands. Soon after, the uſe of it became a matter of

of diſpute among the learned, which the ignorant alſo took a part in; and thus tobacco acquired ſome reputation. By degrees faſhion and cuſtom have greatly extended its conſumption in all parts of the known world. It is at preſent cultivated with more or leſs ſucceſs in Europe, Aſia, Africa, and ſeveral parts of America.

The ſtem of this plant is ſtraight, hairy, and viſcuous; and its leaves are thick, flabby, and of a pale-green colour. They are larger at the bottom than at the ſummit of the plant. It requires a ſoil of a-good conſiſtence; but rich, even, deep, and not too much expoſed to inundations. A virgin ſoil is very fit for this vegetable, which requires a great deal of ſap.

The ſeeds of the tobacco are ſown in layers. When it has grown to the height of two inches, and has got at leaſt half a dozen leaves, it is gently pulled up in damp weather, and tranſplanted with great care into a well-prepared ſoil, where the plants are placed at the diſtance of three feet from each o-ther. When they are put into the ground with theſe precautions, their leaves do not ſuffer the leaſt injury; and all their vigour is renewed in four and twenty hours.

The cultivation of tobacco requires continual at-tention. The weeds which gather about it muſt be plucked up; the head of it muſt be cut off when it is the ſize of two feet and a half, to prevent it from growing too high; it muſt be ſtripped of all ſprout-ing ſuckers; the leaves which grow too low down upon the ſtem, thoſe that are in the leaſt inclined to decay, and thoſe which the inſects have touched, muſt all be removed, and their number reduced to eight or ten at moſt. A ſingle induſtrious man is able to take care of two thouſand five hundred plants, which ought to yield one thouſand weight of tobacco. It is left about four months in the ground. As it ad-vances to maturity, the pleaſant and lively green colour of its leaves is changed into a darker hue; the leaves are

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alſo curved, and the ſmell they exhale is increaſed, and extends to a greater diſtance. The plant is then ripe, and muſt be cut.

The plants, when collected, are laid in heaps upon the ſame ground that produced them, where they are left to exſude only for one night. The next day they are laid up in warehouſes, conſtructed in ſuch a manner that the air may have free acceſs to them on all ſides. Here they are left ſeparately ſuſpended as long a time as is neceſſary to dry them well. They are then ſpread upon hurdles, and well covered over; where they ferment for a week or two. At laſt they they are ſtripped of their leaves, which are either put into barrels, or made up into rolls. The other methods of preparing the plant, which vary according to the different taſtes of the ſeveral nations that uſe it, have nothing to do with its cultivation.

Of all the countries in which tobacco has been planted, there is none where it has anſwered ſo well as in Maryland and Virginia. As it was the only occupation of the firſt planters, they often cultivated much more than they could find a ſale for. They were then obliged to ſtop the growth of the plantations in Virginia, and to burn a certain number of plants in every habitation throughout Maryland. But in proceſs of time the uſes of this herb became ſo general, that they have been obliged to increaſe the number both of the whites and blacks who are employed in preparing it. At preſent, each of the colonies furniſhes nearly an equal quantity. That from Virginia, which is the mildeſt, the moſt perfumed and the deareſt, is conſumed in England and in the ſouthern parts of Europe. That of Maryland is fitter for the northern climates, from its cheapneſs, and even from its coarſeneſs, which makes it better adapted to leſs delicate organs.

As navigation has not yet made the ſame progreſs in theſe provinces as in the reſt of North America, the tobacco is commonly tranſported in the ſhips of the mother country. They are very often three, four,

four, and even ſix months in completing their cargo. This delay ariſes from ſeveral very evident cauſes. Firſt, as there are no magazines or general receptacles for the tobacco, it is neceſſary to go and fetch it from the ſeveral plantations. Secondly, few planters are able to load a whole ſhip if they would; and if they were, they would not chuſe to venture their whole upon one bottom. In ſhort, as the price of the freight is fixed, and is always the ſame whether the articles are ready for embarkation or not, the planters wait till they are preſſed by the captains themſelves to haſten the exportation. All theſe ſeveral reaſons are the cauſe why veſſels only of a moderate ſize are generally employed upon this ſervice. The larger they would be, the longer time they would be detained in America.

Virginia always pays 1 *l.* 19 *s.* 4 *d.* halfpenny freight for every barrel of tobacco, and Maryland only 1 *l.* 14 *s.* 5 *d* farthing. This difference is owing to the leſs value of the merchandiſe, and to the greater expedition made in loading it. The Engliſh merchant loſes by the carriage, but it is made up to him by the commiſſions. As he is always employed in all the ſales and purchaſes made for the coloniſts, he is amply compenſated for his loſſes and his trouble, by an allowance of five *per cent.* upon theſe commiſſions.

This navigation employs two hundred and fifty ſhips, which make up 30,000 tons. They take in a hundred thouſand barrels of tobacco from the two colonies, which, at the rate of eight-hundred pounds a-barrel, make eighty millions of pounds weight. That part of the commodity which grows between York and James rivers, and in ſome other places, is extemely dear; but the whole taken upon an average ſells only for about 2 *d.* farthing a pound in England, which makes in all 738,281 *l.* 5 *s.* Beſides the advantage it is of to Britain to exchange its manufactures to the amount of this ſum, it gains another by the re-exportation of four-fifths of the tobacco. This alone is an object of 442,968 *l.* 15 *s.* beſides what is to be reckoned for freight and commiſſion.

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The cuſtom-houſe duties are a ſtill more conſiderable object to government. There is a tax of about 6 *d.* farthing upon every pound of tobacco that enters the kingdom. This, ſuppoſing the whole eighty millions of pounds imported to remain in it, would bring the ſtate 2,078,124 *l.* 17 *s.* 9 *d.* three farthings; but as four fifths are re-exported, and all the duties are remitted upon that portion, the public revenue gains only 831,250 *l.* 10 *s.* 1 *d.* farthing. Experience teaches, that a third of this muſt be deducted for prompt payment of what the merchant has a right to be eighteen months in paying, and to allow for the ſmuggling that is carried on in the ſmall ports as well as in the large ones. This deduction will amount to 277,084 *l.* 2 *s.* 11 *d.* farthing, and there will conſequently remain for government no more than 554,168 *l.* 16 *s.* 4 *d.* half-penny.

Notwithſtanding theſe laſt abuſes, Virginia and Maryland are much more advantageous to Great Britain than the other northern colonies, more ſo even than Carolina.

CHAP. III.

Of CAROLINA.

1. *Origin.*

CAROLINA extends three hundred miles along the coaſt, which is two hundred miles broad, as far as the Apalachian mountains. It was diſcovered by the Spaniards, ſoon after the firſt expeditions in the new world; but as they found no gold there to ſatisfy their avarice, they deſpiſed it. Admiral Coligny, with more prudence and ability, opened an aſylum there to the induſtry of the French pro-

proteſtants; but the fanaticiſm that purſued them ſoon deſtroyed all their hopes, which were totally loſt in the murder of that juſt, humane, and enlightened man. Some Engliſh ſucceeded them towards the end of the 16 century; who, by an unaccountable caprice, were induced to abandon this fertile ſoil, in order to go and cultivate a more ungrateful land, and in a leſs agreeable climate.

2. *Syſtem of religious and civil government eſtabliſhed by Locke.*

THERE was not a ſingle European remaining in Carolina, when the lords Berkeley, Clarendon, Albemarle, Craven, and Aſhley, Sir George Carteret, Sir William Berkeley, and Sir William Colleton, obtained from Charles II. in 1663, a grant of that fine country. The plan of government for this new colony was laid down by the famous Locke. A philoſopher who was a friend to mankind, and to that moderation and juſtice which ought to be the rule of their actions, could not find better means to oppoſe the prevalence of fanaticiſm, than by an unlimited toleration in matters of religion; but not daring openly to attack the prejudices of his time, which were as much the effect of the virtues as of the crimes of the age, he endeavoured at leaſt to reconcile them, if poſſible, with a principle of reaſon and humanity. The wild inhabitants of America, ſaid he, have no idea of a revelation; it would, therefore, be the height of extravagance to make them ſuffer for their ignorance. The different ſects of Chriſtians who might come to people the colony, would, without doubt, expect a liberty of conſcience there, which prieſts and princes refuſed them in Europe; nor ſhould Jews or Pagans be rejected on account of a blindneſs which lenity and perſuaſion might contribute to remove. Such was the reaſoning of Mr Locke with men prejudiced and influenced by opi-

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nions which no one hitherto had taken the liberty to call in queſtion. Diſguſted with the troubles and misfortunes which the different ſyſtems of religion had given birth to in Europe, they readily acquieſced in the arguments he propoſed to them. They admitted toleration in the ſame manner as intolerance is received, without examining into the merits of it. The only reſtriction laid upon this ſaving principle was, that every perſon, claiming the protection of that ſettlement, ſhould at the age of ſeventeen regiſter themſelves in ſome particular communion.

The Engliſh philoſopher was not ſo favourable to civil liberty. Whether it were, that thoſe who had fixed upon him to trace out a plan of government had reſtrained his views, as will be the caſe with every writer who employs his pen for great men or miniſters; or whether Locke, being more of a metaphyſician than a ſtateſman, purſued philoſophy only in thoſe tracts which had been opened by Deſcartes and Leibnitz; the ſame man, who had diſſipated and deſtroyed ſo many errors in his theory concerning the origin of ideas, made but very feeble and uncertain advances in the path of legiſlation. The author of a work, whoſe continuance will render the glory of the French nation immortal, even when tyranny ſhall have broken all the ſprings, and all the monuments of the genius and merit of a people eſteemed by the whole world for ſo many amiable and brilliant qualities; even Monteſquieu himſelf, did not perceive that he was making men for governments, inſtead of making governments for men.

The code of Carolina, by a ſingularity not to be accounted for in an Engliſhman and a philoſopher, gave to the eight proprietors who founded the ſettlement, and to their heirs, not only all the rights of a monarch, but likewiſe all the powers of legiſlation.

The court, which was compoſed of this ſovereign body, and was called the Palatine Court, was inveſted with the right of nominating to all employments and dignities, and even with that of conferring nobi-

lity, but under new and unprecedented titles. For inſtance, they were to create in each county two Caciques, each of whom was to be poſſeſſed of twenty four thouſand acres of land, and a Landgrave, who was to be poſſeſſed of fourſcore thouſand. The perſons on whom theſe honours ſhould be beſtowed were to compoſe the upper houſe; and their poſſeſſions were made unalienable, a circumſtance totally inconſiſtent with good policy. They had only the right of farming or letting out a third part of them at the moſt for the continuance of three lives.

The lower houſe was formed of the deputies from the ſeveral counties and towns. The number of this repreſentative body was to be increaſed in proportion as the colony grew more populous. No tenant was to pay more than one ſhilling per acre, and even this rent was redeemable. All the inhabitants, however, both ſlaves and freemen, were under an obligation to take arms upon the firſt order they ſhould receive from the Palatine Court.

It was not long before the faults of a conſtitution, in which the powers of the ſtate were ſo unequally divided, began to diſcover themſelves. The proprietary lords, influenced by deſpotic principles, uſed every endeavour to eſtabliſh an arbitrary government. On the other hand, the coloniſts, who were not ignorant of the general rights of mankind, exerted themſelves with equal zeal to avoid ſervitude. From this ſtruggle of oppoſite intereſts aroſe an inevitable confuſion, which put a ſtop to every uſeful effort of induſtry. The whole province, diſtracted with quarrels, diſſentions, and tumults, was rendered incapable of making any progreſs, whatever improvements had been expected from the peculiar advantages of its ſituation.

Nor were theſe evils ſufficient: new ones aroſe, as if a remedy could only be attained from an exceſs of grievances. Granville, who, as the oldeſt of the proprietors, was in 1705, ſole governor of the colony, formed the reſolution of obliging all the nonconformiſts, who made up two-thirds of the people, to embrace the forms of worſhip eſtabliſhed in England.

land. This act of violence, though disavowed and rejected by the mother country, inflamed the minds of the people. In 1720, while this animosity was still prevailing, the province was attacked by several bands of savages, driven to despair by a continued course of the most attrocious insolence and injustice. Those unfortunate wretches were all conquered, and all put to the sword: but the courage and vigour which this war revived in the breasts of the colonists was the prelude to the fall of their oppressors. Those tyrants having refused to contribute to the expences of an expedition, the immediate benefits of which they claimed to themselves, were all, excepting Carteret, who still preserved one eighth of the country, stripped in 1728 of their prerogatives, which they had only known how to make an ill use of. They received, however, 23,625 *l.* by way of compensation. From this time the crown resumed the government; and in order to give the colony a foretaste of its moderation, bestowed on it the same constitution as on others. It was further divided into two separate governments, under the names of North and South Carolina, in order to facilitate the administration of it. It is from this happy period that the prosperity of this great province is to be dated.

3. *Climate and produce.*

THERE is not, perhaps, throughout the new world, a climate to be compared with that of Carolina. The two seasons of the year, which, for the most part, only moderate the excesses of the two others, are here delightful. The heats of the summer are not excessive; and the cold of the winter is only felt in the mornings and evenings. The fogs, which are always common upon a coast of any length, are dispersed before the middle of the day. But on the other hand here, as well as in every other part almost of America, the inhabitants are subject to such sud-

den and violent changes of weather, as oblige them to obſerve a regularity in their diet and clothing which would be unneceſſary in a more ſettled climate. Another inconvenience, peculiar to this tract of the northern continent, is that of being tormented with hurricanes; but theſe are leſs frequent and leſs violent than in the iſlands.

A vaſt, melancholy, uniform, unvaried plain extends from the ſea-ſhore fourſcore or a hundred miles within land. From this diſtance the country, beginning to riſe, affords a more pleaſing proſpect, a purer and drier air. This part, before the arrival of the Engliſh, was covered with one immenſe foreſt, reaching as far as the Apalachian mountains. It conſiſted of large trees growing, as nature had caſt them, without order or deſign, at unequal diſtances, and not encumbered with underwood; by which means more land could be cleared here in a week than in ſeveral months among us.

The ſoil of Carolina is very various. On the coaſt, and about the mouths of the rivers, which fall into the ſea, it is either covered with impracticable and unhealthful moraſſes; or made up of a pale, light ſandy earth, which produces nothing. In one part, it is barren to an extreme; in another, among the numberleſs ſtreams that divide the country, it is exceſſively fruitful. At a diſtance from the coaſts, there are found ſometimes large waſtes of white ſand, which produce nothing but pines; at others there are lands, where the oak and the walnut-tree announce fertility. Theſe variations ceaſe when you get into the inland parts, and the country every where is agreeable and rich.

Admirably adapted as theſe ſpots are for the purpoſes of cultivation, the province does not want others equally favourable for the breeding of cattle. Thouſands of horned cattle are raiſed here; which go out in the morning, without a herdſman, to feed in the woods, and return home at night of their own accord. Their hogs, which are ſuffered to fat-

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ten themſelves in the ſame manner, are ſtill more numerous and much better in their kind. But mutton degenerates there both in fleſh and wool. For this reaſon it is leſs common.

In 1723, the whole colony conſiſted of no more than four thouſand white people, and thirty-two thouſand blacks. Its exportations to other parts of America and to Europe did not exceed 216,562 *l.* 10*s.* Since that time it hath acquired a degree of ſplendor which it owes intirely to the enjoyment of liberty.

South Carolina, though it hath ſucceeded in eſtabliſhing a conſiderable barter trade with the ſavages, hath gained a manufacture of linens by means of the French refugees, and invented a new kind of ſtuff by mixing the ſilk it produces with its wool; yet is its progreſs principally to be attributed to the produce of rice and indigo.

The firſt of theſe articles was brought there by an accident. A ſhip, on its return from India, ran aground on this coaſt. It was laden with rice; which, being toſſed on ſhore by the waves, grew up again. This unexpected good fortune led them to try the cultivation of a commodity which the ſoil ſeemed of itſelf to require. For a long time little progreſs was made in it: becauſe the coloniſts being obliged to ſend their crops to the mother country, from whence they were ſhipped agian for Spain and Portugal, where the conſumption was, ſold them at ſo low a price that it ſcarce anſwered the expences of cultivation. Since 1730, when a more enlightened miniſtry gave them permiſſion to export and ſell their grain themſelves at foreign markets, an increaſe of profit has produced an additional growth of the commodity. The quantity is at preſent greatly augmented, and may be ſtill more; but whether ſo much to the benefit of the colony, is doubtful. Of all productions, rice is the moſt detrimental to the ſalubrity of the climate: at leaſt, it hath been eſteemed ſo in the Milaneſe, where the peaſants on the rice-grounds are

all of them ſallow complectioned and dropſical; and in France, where that article hath been totally prohibited, Egypt had without doubt its precautions againſt the ill effects of a grain in other reſpects ſo nutritious. China muſt alſo have its preſervatives, which art ſets up againſt nature, whoſe favours are ſometimes attended with pernicious conſequences. Perhaps alſo under the torrid zone, where rice grows in the greateſt abundance, the heat, which makes it flouriſh in the midſt of water, quickly diſperſes the moiſt and noxious vapours that exhale from the rice-fields. But if the cultivation of rice ſhould one day come to be neglected in Carolinia, that of indigo will make ample amends for it.

This plant, which is a native of Indoſtan, was firſt brought to perfection in Mexico and the Leeward iſlands. It was tried later, and with leſs ſucceſs, in South Carolina. This principle ingredient in dying is there of ſo inferior a quality, that it is ſcarce ſold at half the price it bears in other places. Yet thoſe who cultivate it, do not deſpair in time of ſupplanting both the Spaniards and French at every market. The goodneſs of their climate, the extent of their lands, the plenty and cheapneſs of their proviſions, the opportunities they have of ſupplying themſelves with utenſils and of procuring ſlaves; every thing, in ſhort, flatters their expectation: and the ſame hope has always extended itſelf to the inhabitants of North Carolina.

It is well known, that this country was the firſt, on the continent of the new world, on which the Engliſh landed; for here is the bay of Roanoak, which Raleigh took poſſeſſion of in 1585. A total emigration, in a ſhort time, left it deſtitute of coloniſts; nor did it begin to be repeopled, even when large ſettlements were eſtabliſhed in the neighbouring countries. We cannot otherwiſe account for this dereliction, than from the obſtacles which trading veſſels had to encounter in this beautiful region. None of its rivers are deep enough to admit ſhips of more

more than ſeventy or eighty tons. Thoſe of greater burden are forced to anchor between the continent and ſome adjacent iſlands. The tenders, which are employed in lading and unlading them, augment the expence and trouble both of their exports and imports.

From this circumſtance, probably, it was, that North-Carolina in the beginning was inhabited only by a ſet of wretches without name, laws, or profeſſion. In proportion as the lands in the neighbouring colonies grew more ſcarce, thoſe who were not able to purchaſe them betook themſelves to a country where they could get lands without purchaſe. Refugees of other kinds availed themſelves of the ſame reſource. Order and property became eſtabliſhed at the ſame time; and this colony, with fewer advantages than South-Carolina, obtained a greater number of European ſettlers.

The firſt people, whom chance diſperſed along theſe ſavage coaſts, confined themſelves to the breeding of cattle, and cutting wood, which were taken off their hands by the merchants of New-England. In a ſhort time they contrived to make the pine-tree produce them turpentine, tar, and pitch. For the turpentine, they had nothing to do but to make two ſlits in the trunk of the tree, about a foot in length, at the bottom of which they placed veſſels to receive it. When they wanted tar, they raiſed a circular platform of potter's earth, on which they laid piles of pine-wood: to theſe they ſet fire, and the roſin diſtilled from them into caſks placed underneath. The tar was converted into pitch, either in great iron pots, in which they boiled it; or in pits formed of potter's earth, into which it was poured while in a fluid ſtate. This labour, however, was not ſufficient for the maintenance of the inhabitants: they then proceeded to grow corn; and for a long time were contented with maize, as their neighbours in South-Carolina were obliged to be, where the wheat being ſubject to mildew, and to exhauſt itſelf in ſtraw,

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never throve. But ſeveral experiments having proved to the North-Carolinians that they were not liable to the ſame inconvenience, they ſucceded ſo far in the cultivation of that grain, that they were even able to ſupply a conſiderable exportation. Rice and indigo have been but lately introduced into this province, to join the harveſts of Africa and Aſia to thoſe of Europe. The cultivation of them is but yet in its infancy.

There is ſcarce one twentieth part of the territory belonging to the two Carolinas that is cleared; and, at this time, the only cultivated ſpots are thoſe which are the moſt ſandy and the neareſt to the ſea. The reaſon why the coloniſts have not ſettled farther back in the country is, that of ten navigable rivers, there is not one that will admit ſhipping higher than ſixty miles. This inconvenience is not to be remedied but by making roads or canals; and works of that kind require ſo many hands, and ſo much expence and knowledge, that the hopes of ſuch an improvement are ſtill very diſtant.

Neither of the colonies, however, have reaſon to complain of their lot. The impoſts, which are all levied on the exportation and importation of merchandiſe, do not exceed 5,906*l.* 5*s.* The paper-currency of North Carolina does not amount to more than 49,118*l.* 15*s.* and that of South Carolina, which is infinitely more wealthy, is only 246,093*l.* 15*s.* Neither of them is in debt to the mother country; and this advantage, which is not common even in the Engliſh colonies, they derive from the great amount of their exportations to the neighbouring provinces, the Leeward iſlands, and to Europe.

In 1754, there were exported from South Carolina, ſeven hundred and fifty-nine barrels of turpentine, two thouſand nine hundred and forty three of tar; five thouſand eight hundred and ſixty-nine of pitch or roſin; four hundred and ſixteen barrels of beef; fifteen hundred and ſixty of pork; ſixteen thouſand

thouſand four hundred buſhels of Indian corn, and nine thouſand one hundred and ſixty two of peaſe; four thouſand one hundred and eighty tanned hides, and twelve hundred in the hair; one million one hundred and forty thouſand planks, two hundred and ſix thouſand joiſts, and three hundred and eighty-five thouſand feet of timber; eight hundred and eighty-two hogs-heads of wild deer-ſkins; one hundred and four thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-two barrels of rice; two hundred and ſixteen thouſand nine hundred and eighty-four pounds of indigo.

In the ſame year North Carolina exported ſixty-one thouſand five hundred and twenty-eight barrels of tar, twelve thouſand and fifty-five of pitch, and ten thouſand four hundred and twenty nine of turpentine; ſeven hundred and ſixty two thouſand three hundred and thirty planks, and two thouſand ſix hundred and forty-ſeven feet of timber; ſixty-one thouſand, five hundred buſhels of wheat, and ten thouſand of peaſe; three thouſand three hundred barrels of beef and pork; one hundred hogſheads of tobacco; ten thouſand hundred-weight of tanned hides, and thirty thouſand ſkins of different kinds.

In the above account, there is not a ſingle article that has not been conſiderably increaſed ſince that time. Several of them have been doubled; and the moſt valuable of all, the indigo, has increaſed to three times the quantity.

Some productions of North Carolina are exported to Europe and the Caribbees, tho' there is no ſtaple town to receive them, and that Edinton, the ancient capital of the province, as well as that which has been built in lieu of it upon the river Neus, can ſcarce be conſidered as ſmall villages. The largeſt and moſt valuable part of its exports is conveyed to CHARLESTOWN, to increaſe the riches of South Carolina.

This town lies between the two navigable rivers, Cooper and Aſhley; ſurrounded by the moſt beautiful plantations of the colony, of which it is the centre and the capital. It is well built, interſected with

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ſeveral agreeable ſtreets, and its fortifications are tolerably regular. The large fortunes that have been made there from the acceſſion and circulation of its trade, muſt neceſſarily have had ſome influence upon the manners of the people: of all the towns in North America, it is the one in which the conveniences of luxury are moſt to be met with. But the diſadvantage its road labours under, of not being able to admit of ſhips of above two hundred tons, will make it loſe its preſent ſplendor. It will be deſerted for *Port Royal*, which admits veſſels of all kinds into its harbour, and in great numbers. A ſettlement has already been formed there, which is continually increaſing, and may moſt probably meet with the greateſt ſucceſs. Beſides the productions of North and South Carolina, that will naturally come to its market, it will alſo receive thoſe of Georgia, a colony that has been lately eſtabliſhed near it.

CHAP. IV.

Of GEORGIA.

1. *Foundation.*

CAROLINA and Spaniſh Florida are ſeparated from each other by a great tract of land which extends one hundred and twenty miles upon the ſea-coaſt, and three hundred miles from thence to the Apalachian mountains, and whoſe boundaries to the north and ſouth are the rivers Savannah and Alatamaha. The Engliſh miniſtry had been long deſirous of erecting a colony on this tract of country, that was conſidered as dependent upon Carolina. One of thoſe inſtances of benevolence, which liberty, the ſource of every patriotic virtue, renders more frequent in England than in any other country, ſerved to determine the views of government with regard to this

place.

place. A rich and humane citizen, at his death, left the whole of his eſtate to ſet at liberty ſuch inſolvent debtors as were detained in priſon by their creditors. Prudential reaſons of policy concurred in the performance of this will dictated by humanity; and the government gave orders, that ſuch unhappy priſoners, as were releaſed, ſhould be tranſplanted into that deſert country, that was now intended to be peopled; it was named *Georgia*, in honour of the reigning ſovereign.

This inſtance of reſpect, the more pleaſing as it was not the effect of flattery, and the execution of a deſign of ſo much real advantage to the ſtate, were entirely the work of the nation. The parliament added 9843*l.* 15*s.* to the eſtate left by the will of the citizen; and a voluntary ſubſcription produced a much more conſiderable ſum. General Oglethrope, a man who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the houſe of commons by his taſte for great deſigns, by his zeal for his country, and his paſſion for glory, was fixed upon to direct theſe public finances, and to carry into execution ſo excellent a project. Deſirous of maintaining the reputation he had acquired, he choſe to conduct himſelf the firſt coloniſts that were to be ſent to Georgia; where he arrived in January 1733, and fixed his people on a ſpot at ten miles diſtance from the ſea, in an agreeable and fertile plain on the banks of the Savannah. This riſing ſettlement was called *Savannah* from the name of the river; and inconſiderable as it was in its infant ſtate, was, however, to become the capital of a flouriſhing colony. It conſiſted at firſt of no more than one hundred perſons, but, before the end of the year, the number was increaſed to 618, 127 of whom had emigrated at their own expence. Three hundred men and 113 women, 102 lads and 83 girls, formed the beginning of this new population, and the hopes of a numerous poſterity.

This ſettlement was increaſed in 1735 by the arrival of ſome Scotch highlanders. Their national courage

courage induced them to accept an eſtabliſhment offered them upon the borders of the Alatamaha, to defend the colony, if neceſſary, againſt the attacks of the neighbouring Spaniards. Here they built the towns of Darien and Frederica, and ſeveral of their countrymen came over to ſettle among them.

In the ſame year, a great number of proteſtants, driven out of Saltzburg by a fanatical prieſt, embarked for Georgia to enjoy peace and liberty of conſcience. At firſt they ſettled on a ſpot ſituated juſt above that of the infant colony; but they afterwards choſe to be at a greater diſtance, and to go as far down as the mouth of the Savannah, where they built a town called *Ebenezer*.

Some Switzers followed the example of theſe wiſe Saltzburghers, though they had not, like them, been perſecuted. They alſo ſettled on the banks of the Savannah; but at the diſtance of four and thirty miles from the Germans. Their colony, conſiſting of a hundred habitations, was named *Purſburgh*, from Pury their founder, who, having been at the expence of their ſettlement, was deſervedly choſen their chief, in teſtimony of their gratitude to him.

In theſe four or five colonies, ſome men were found more inclined to trade than agriculture. Theſe, therefore, ſeparated from the reſt in order to build the city Auguſta, two hundred and thirty-ſix miles diſtant from the ocean. The goodneſs of the ſoil, though excellent in itſelf, was not the motive of their fixing upon this ſituation; but the facility it afforded them of carrying on the peltry trade with the ſavages. Their project was ſo ſucceſsful, that, as early as the year 1739, ſix hundred people were employed in this commerce. The ſale of the ſkins was with much greater facility carried on, from the circumſtance of the Savannah admitting the largeſt ſhips to ſail upon it as far as the walls of Auguſta.

The mother country ought, one would imagine, to have formed great expectations from a colony, where

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ſhe had ſent near five thouſand men, and laid out 64, 968*l.* 15*s.* independent of the voluntary contributions that had been raiſed by zealous patriots. But to her great ſurpriſe, ſhe received information in 1741, that there remained ſcarce a ſixth part of that numerous colony ſent to Georgia; who being now totally diſcouraged, ſeemed only deſirous to fix in a more favourable ſituation. The reaſons of theſe calamities were inquired into and diſcovered.

2. *Impediments that have prevented the progreſs of Georgia.*

This colony, even in its infancy, brought with it the ſeeds of its decay. The government, together with the property of Georgia, had been ceded to individuals. The example of Carolina ought to have prevented this imprudent ſcheme; but nations as well as individuals do not learn inſtruction from paſt miſconduct. An enlightened government, tho' checked by the watchful eye of the people, is not always able to guard againſt every miſuſe of its confidence. The Engliſh miniſtry, though zealouſly attached to the common welfare, ſacrificed the public intereſt to the rapacious views of intereſted individuals.

The firſt uſe that the proprietors of Georgia made of the unlimited power they were inveſted with, was to eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of legiſlation, that made them entirely maſters not only of the police, juſtice, and finances of the country, but even of the lives and eſtates of its inhabitants. Every ſpecies of right was withdrawn from the people, who are the original poſſeſſors of them all. Obedience was required of the people, though contrary to their intereſt and knowledge; and it was conſidered here, as in other countries, as their duty and their fate.

As great inconveniences had been found to ariſe in other colonies from large poſſeſſions, it was thought proper in Georgia to allow each family only fifty

acres of land; which they were not permitted to mortgage, or even to diſpoſe of by will to their female iſſue. This laſt regulation of making only the male iſſue capable of inheritance, was ſoon aboliſhed; but there ſtill remained too many obſtacles to excite a ſpirit of emulation. It ſeldom happens, that a man reſolves to leave his country but upon the proſpect of ſome great advantage that works ſtrongly upon his imagination. Whatever limits are preſcribed to his induſtry, are, therefore, ſo many checks which prevent him from engaging in any project. The boundaries aſſigned to every plantation muſt neceſſarily have produced this bad effect. Several other errors ſtill affected the original plan of this colony, which prevented its increaſe.

The taxes impoſed upon the moſt fertile of the Britiſh colonies, are very inconſiderable; and even theſe are not levied till the ſettlements have acquired ſome degree of vigour and proſperity. From its infant ſtate, Georgia had been ſubjected to the fines of a feudal government, with which it had been as it were fettered. The revenues raiſed by this kind of ſervice increaſed prodigiouſly, in proportion as the colony extended itſelf. The founders of it, blinded by a ſpirit of avidity, did not perceive, that the ſmalleſt duty impoſed upon the trade of a populous and flouriſhing province, would much ſooner enrich them than the largeſt fines laid upon a barren and uncultivated country.

To this ſpecies of oppreſſion was added another; which, however incredible it may appear, might ariſe from a ſpirit of benevolence. The planters of Georgia were not allowed the uſe of ſlaves. Carolina and ſome other colonies having been eſtabliſhed without their aſſiſtance, it was thought, that a country, deſtined to be the bulwark of thoſe American poſſeſſions, ought not to be peopled by a ſet of ſlaves, who could not be in the leaſt intereſted in the defence of their oppreſſors. But it was not at the ſame time foreſeen, that coloniſts, who were leſs favoured by

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the mother country than their neighbours who were ſituated in a country leſs ſuſceptible of tillage and in a hotter climate, would want ſtrength and ſpirit to undertake a cultivation that required greater encouragement.

The indolence which ſo many obſtacles gave riſe to, found a further excuſe, in another prohibition that had been impoſed. The diſturbances produced by the uſe of ſpirituous liquors over all the continent of North America, induced the founders of Georgia to forbid the importation of rum. This prohibition, though well intended, deprived the coloniſts of the only liquor that could correct the bad qualities of the waters of the country, that were generally unwholeſome; and of the only means they had to reſtore the waſte of ſtrength and ſpirits that muſt be the conſequence of inceſſant labour. Beſides this, it prevented their commerce with the Antilles; as they could not go thither to barter their wood, corn, and cattle, that ought to have been their moſt valuable commodities, in return for the rum of thoſe iſlands.

The mother country at length perceived how much theſe defects in the political regulations and inſtitutions had prevented the increaſe of the colony, and freed them from the reſtraints they had before been clogged with; and the government in Georgia was ſettled upon the ſame plan as that which had rendered Carolina ſo flouriſhing; and, inſtead of being dependent on a few individuals, became one of the national poſſeſſions.

Though this colony has not ſo extenſive a territory, ſo temperate a climate, nor ſo fertile a ſoil, as the neighbouring province; and though it can never be ſo flouriſhing as Carolina, notwithſtanding it cultivates rice, indigo, and almoſt all the ſame productions; yet it will become advantageous to the mother country, when the apprehenſions ariſing from the tyranny of its government, which have with reaſon prevented people from ſettling there, are removed. It will one day no longer be aſſerted, that Georgia is the leaſt popu-

lous of all the Engliſh colonies upon the continent, notwithſtanding the ſuccours government has ſo amply beſtowed upon it. All theſe advantages will fortunately be increaſed by the acquiſition of Florida; a province which from its vicinity muſt neceſſarily influence the proſperity of Georgia, and which claims our attention for ſtill more important reaſons.

CHAP. V.

Of FLORIDA.

1. *Hiſtory of Florida. Its ceſſion from the Spaniards to the Britiſh.*

UNDER the name of Florida, the ambition of Spain comprehended all that tract of land in America which extends from Mexico to the moſt northern regions. But fortune, which ſports with the vanity of nations, has long ſince confined this vague deſcription to the peninſula formed by the ſea on the channel of Bahama, between Georgia and Louiſiana. The Spaniards, who had often ſatisfied themſelves in preventing the population of a country they could not inhabit themſelves, were deſirous in 1565 of ſettling on this ſpot, after having driven the French from it, who had begun the year before to form a ſmall eſtabliſhment there.

The moſt eaſterly ſettlement in this colony was known by the name of St Mattheo. The conquerors would have abandoned it, notwithſtanding it was ſituated on a navigable river at two leagues diſtance from the ſea, in an agreeable and fertile ſoil, had they not diſcovered the Saſſafras upon it.

This tree, a native of America, is better in Florida than in any other part of that continent. It grows equally on the borders of the ſea and upon the mountains; but always in a ſoil that is neither too dry nor too damp.

damp. It is ſtreight and lofty, like the fir-tree, without branches, and its top is formed ſomewhat in the ſhape of a cup. It is an ever-green, and its leaves reſemble thoſe of the laurel. Its flower, which is yellow, is taken as the mullein and tea in infuſion. Its root, which is well known in trade, being very ſerviceable in medicine, ought to be ſpungy, light, of a greyiſh colour; of a ſharp, ſweetiſh, and aromatic taſte; and ſhould have the ſmell of the fennel and aniſe. Theſe qualities give it the virtue of promoting perſpiration, reſolving thick and viſcous humours, and relieving palſies and catarrhs. It was formerly much uſed in venereal complaints.

The firſt Spaniards who ſettled there, would probably have fallen a ſacrifice to this laſt diſorder, but for the aſſiſtance of this powerful remedy; they would, at leaſt, not have recovered from thoſe dangerous fevers they were generally ſubject to at St Mattheo, whether in conſequence of the food of the country or the badneſs of the waters. But the ſavages taught them, that by drinking, in a morning faſting, and at their meals, water in which ſaſſafras had been boiled, they might certainly depend upon a ſpeedy recovery. The experiment, upon trial, proved ſucceſsful. But ſtill the village never emerged from the obſcurity and diſtreſs which were, undoubtedly, the natural and inſurmountable conſequences that attended the conquerors of the new world.

Another eſtabliſhment was formed upon the ſame coaſt, at fifteen leagues diſtance from St Mattheo, known by the name of St Auguſtine. The Engliſh attacked it in 1747, but were obliged to give up their attempts. Some Scotch Highlanders, who were deſirous of covering the retreat of the aſſailants, were repulſed and ſlain. A ſergeant, who fought among the Spaniards, was ſpared by the Indian ſavages, only that he might be reſerved to undergo thoſe torments which they inflict upon their priſoners. This man, it is ſaid, on ſeeing the horrid tortures

that awaited him, addreſſed the blood-thirſty multitude in the following manner:

"Heroes and patriarchs of the weſtern world, "you were not the enemies I ſought for; but you "have at laſt been the conquerors. The chance of "war has thrown me in your power. Make what "uſe you pleaſe of the right of conqueſt. This is "a right I do not call in queſtion. But as it is "cuſtomary in my country to offer a ranſom for "one's life, liſten to a propoſal not unworthy your "notice.

"Know then, valiant Americans, that in the "country of which I am a native, there are ſome "men who poſſeſs a ſuperior knowledge of the ſe-"crets of nature. One of thoſe ſages, connected "to me by the ties of kindred, imparted to me, "when I became a ſoldier, a charm to make me in-"vulnerable. You muſt have obſerved how I have "eſcaped all your darts: without ſuch a charm, "would it have been poſſible for me to have ſurvived "all the mortal blows you have aimed at me? For "I appeal to your own valour, to teſtify that mine "has ſufficiently exerted itſelf, and has not avoided "any danger. Life is not ſo much the object of my "requeſt, as the glory of having communicated to "you a ſecret of ſo much conſequence to your ſafe-"ty, and of rendering the moſt valiant nation upon "the earth, invincible. Suffer me only to have one "of my hands at liberty, in order to perform the "ceremonies of inchantment, of which I will now "make trial on myſelf before you."

The Indians liſtened with eagerneſs to this diſcourſe, which was flattering both to their warlike character and their turn for the marvellous. After a ſhort conſultation, they untied one of the priſoner's arms. The Highlander begged that they would put his broad ſword into the hands of the moſt expert and ſtouteſt among them; and at the ſame time laying bare his neck, after having rubbed it, and muttering ſome words accompanied with magic ſigns, he

he cried aloud with a cheerful countenance: "Ob-
"ſerve now, O valiant Indians, an inconteſtable
"proof of my honeſty. Thou warrior, who now
"holds my keen-cutting weapon, do thou now
"ſtrike with all thy ſtrength: far from being able
"to ſever my head from my body, thou wilt not
"even wound the ſkin of my neck."

He had ſcarcely ſpoke theſe words, when the Indian, aiming the moſt violent blow, ſtruck off the head of the ſergeant to the diſtance of twenty feet. The ſavages, aſtoniſhed, ſtood motionleſs, viewing the bloody corpſe of the ſtranger, and then turning their eyes upon one another, as if to reproach each other with their blind credulity. But admiring the artifice the priſoner had made uſe of to avoid the torture by haſtening his death, they beſtowed on his body the funeral honours of their country. If this fact, the date of which is too recent to admit of credit, has not all the marks of authenticity it ſhould have, it will only be one falſehood more to be added to the accounts of travellers.

The Spaniards, who in all their progreſs through America, were more employed in deſtroying the inhabitants than in conſtructing of buildings, had formed only thoſe two ſettlements we have taken notice of at the mouth of the channel of Bahama. At four-ſcore leagues diſtance from St Auguſtine, upon the entrance of the gulph of Mexico, they had raiſed that of St Mark, at the mouth of the river Apalache. But this ſituation, well adapted to maintain a communication between the two continents of the new world, had already loſt all the little conſequence it had at firſt obtained, when the Engliſh ſettled at Carolina in 1704, and entirely deſtroyed it.

At the diſtance of thirty leagues further, was another colony, known by the name of St Joſeph, but of leſs conſequence than that of St Mark. Situated on a flat coaſt, and expoſed to every wind, and on a barren ſoil and an uncultivated country, it

was the laſt place where one might expect to meet with inhabitants. But avarice being frequently a dupe to ignorance, ſome Spaniards ſettled there.

Thoſe Spaniards who had formed an eſtabliſhment at the bay of Penſacola upon the borders of Louiſiana, were at leaſt happier in their choice of ſituation. The ſoil was ſuſceptible of culture; and there was a road which, had it been a little deeper at its entrance, might have been thought a good one, if the beſt ſhips that arrived there had not ſoon been worm-eaten.

Theſe five colonies, ſcattered over a ſpace ſufficient to have formed a great kingdom, did not contain more than three thouſand inhabitants ſurpaſſing each other in ſloth and poverty. They were all ſupported by the produce of their cattle. The hides they ſold at the Havannah, and the proviſions with which they ſerved their garriſon, whoſe pay amounted to 32,822*l.* 10*s.* enabled them to purchaſe cloths and whatever elſe their ſoil did not furniſh them with. Notwithſtanding the miſerable ſtate in which they had been left by the mother country, the greateſt part of them choſe to go to Cuba, when Florida was ceded to Britain by the treaty of 1763. This acquiſition, therefore, was no more than a deſart; yet ſtill it was ſome advantage to have got rid of a number of lazy, indolent, and diſaffected inhabitants.

Great Britain was pleaſed with the proſpect of peopling a vaſt province, whoſe limits have been extended even to the Miſſiſippi by the ceſſion France has made of part of Louiſiana. The better to fulfil her project, ſhe has divided it into two governments, under the names of Eaſt and Weſt Florida.

The Britiſh had long been deſirous of eſtabliſhing themſelves in that part of the continent, in order to open a free communication with the wealthieſt colonies of Spain. At firſt they had no other view but in the profits ariſing from a contraband trade. But an advantage ſo precarious and momentary, was

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not an object of sufficient importance, nor any way suitable to the ambition of a great power. Cultivation alone can render the conquests of an industrious people flourishing. Sensible of this, the British give every encouragement to promote culture in the finest part of their dominions. In one year, 1769, the parliament voted no less than 9,007*l.* 10*s.* 7*d.* halfpenny for the two Floridas. Here, at least, the mother for some time administers to her new-born children; whereas, in other nations, the government sucks and exhausts at the same time the milk of the mother country and the blood of the colonies.

2. *By what means Britain may render Florida useful to her.*

It is not easy to determine, to what degree of splendour this indulgence, with time and good management, may raise the Floridas. Appearances, however, are highly promising. The air is healthy, and the soil fit for every kind of grain. Their first trials of rice, cotton, and indigo, were attended with such success, that the number of colonists was greatly increased by it. They pour in from the neighbouring provinces, the mother country, and all the Protestant dominions in Europe. How greatly might this population be increased, if the sovereigns of North America would depart from the maxims they have uniformly pursued, and would condescend to intermarriages with Indian families! And for what reason should this method of civilizing the savage tribes, which has been so successfully employed by the most enlightened politicians, be rejected by a free people, who from their principles must admit a greater equality than other nations? Would they then be still reduced to the cruel alternative of seeing their crops burned, and their labourers massacred, or of persecuting without intermission, and exterminating without pity, those wandering bands of natives? Surely

Surely a generous nation, which has made ſuch great and ſuch continued efforts to reign without a rival over this vaſt tract of the new world, ſhould prefer to ſanguinary and inglorious hoſtilities, a humane and infallible method of diſarming the only enemy that remains to diſturb her tranquillity!

The Britiſh flatter themſelves, that without the aſſiſtance of theſe alliances they ſhall ſoon be freed from the little interruption that remains. It is the fate of ſavage nations, ſay they, to waſte away in proportion as the people of civilized ſtates come to ſettle among them. Unable to ſubmit to the labour of cultivation, and failing of their uſual ſubſiſtence from the chace, they are reduced to the neceſſity of abandoning all thoſe tracts of land which induſtry and activity have undertaken to clear. This is actually the caſe with all the natives bordering on the European ſettlements. They keep daily retiring further into the woods; they fall back upon the Aſſenipouals and Hudſon's bay, where they muſt neceſſarily encroach upon each other, and in a ſhort time muſt periſh for want of ſubſiſtence.

But before this total deſtruction is brought about, events of a very ſerious nature may occur. We have not yet forgot the generous Pondiack. That formidable warrior had broken with the Britiſh in 1762. Major Roberts, who was employed to reconcile him, ſent him a preſent of brandy. Some Iroquois, who were ſtanding round their chief, ſhuddered at the ſight of this liquor. Not doubting that it was poiſoned, they inſiſted that he ſhould not accept ſo ſuſpicious a preſent. "How can it be," ſaid their leader, "that a man, who knows my eſteem for him, "and the ſignal ſervices I have done him, ſhould "entertain a thought of taking away my life?" Saying this, he received and drank the brandy with a confidence equal to that of the moſt renowned hero of antiquity.

By many inſtances of magnanimity ſimilar to this, the eyes of the ſavage nations had all been fixed upon

Pondiack.

Pondiack. His deſign was to unite them in a body for the defence of their lands and independence. Several unfortunate circumſtances concurred to defeat this grand project; but it may be reſumed, and it is not impoſſible but it may ſucceed. Should this be the caſe, the Engliſh will be under a neceſſity of protecting their frontier againſt an enemy, that hath none of thoſe expences to ſuſtain, or evils to dread, which war brings with it among civilized nations; and will find the advantages they have promiſed themſelves from conqueſts made at the expence of ſo much treaſure and ſo much blood, conſiderably retarded, at leaſt, if not entirely cut off.

BOOK

BOOK. III.

OF CANADA, ACQUIRED FROM THE FRENCH.

CHAP. I.

Face of the country. Climate. Government, cuſtoms, virtues, and vices, of the Indians.

THE unbounded ſpace that opened itſelf to the view of the firſt ſettlers, diſcovered only dark, thick, and deep foreſts, whoſe height alone was a proof of their antiquity. Numberleſs large rivers came down from a conſiderable diſtance to water theſe immenſe regions. The intervals between them were full of lakes. Four of theſe meaſured from two to five huudred leagues round. Theſe ſort of inland ſeas communicated with each other; and their waters, after forming the great river St Lawrence, conſiderably increaſed the bed of the ocean. Every thing in this rude part of the new world appeared grand and ſublime. Nature here diſplayed ſuch luxuriancy and majeſty as commanded veneration; and a thouſand wild graces, far ſuperior to the artificial beauties of our climates. Here the imagination of a painter or a poet woud have been raiſed, animated, and filled with thoſe ideas which leave a laſting impreſſion on the mind. All theſe countries exhaled an air fit to prolong life. This temperature, which from the poſition of the climate muſt have been extremely pleaſant, loſt nothing of its wholeſomeneſs by the ſingular ſeverity of a long and intenſe winter. Thoſe who impute this ſingularity merely to the woods, ſprings, and mountains, with which this country abounds, have not taken every thing into conſideration. Others add to theſe cauſes of the cold, the elevation of

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the land, a pure aerial atmoſphere ſeldom loaded with vapours, and the direction of the winds which blow from north to ſouth over frozen ſeas.

Yet the inhabitants of this ſharp climate were but thinly clad. A cloak of buffalo or beaver ſkin, bound with a leathern girdle, and ſtockings made of roe-buck ſkin, was the whole of their dreſs before their intercourſe with us. What they have added ſince, gives great offence to their old men, who are ever lamenting the degeneracy of their manners.

Few of theſe ſavages knew any thing of huſbandry: they only cultivated maize; and that they left entirely to the management of the women, as being beneath the dignity of independent men. Their bittereſt imprecation againſt an enemy was, that he might be reduced to till the ground. Sometimes they would condeſcend to go a-fiſhing; but the employment of their life and their glory was hunting. For this purpoſe the whole nation went out as they did to war; every family, every hut, marched in ſearch of ſuſtenance. They prepared for the expedition by ſevere faſting, and never ſtirred out till they had implored the aſſiſtance of their god; they did not pray for ſtrength to kill the beaſts, but that they might be ſo fortunate as to meet with them. No perſons ſtaid at home, except infirm and old men; all the reſt ſallied forth, the men to kill the game, and the women to dry and bring it home. They imagined that the winter was the fineſt ſeaſon of the year: the bear, the roe-buck, the ſtag, and the elk, could not then run with any degree of ſwiftneſs through ſnow that was four or five feet deep on the ground. The ſavages, who were ſtopt neither by the buſhes, the torrents, the ponds, nor the rivers, and who could out-run moſt of the ſwifter animals, were ſeldom unſucceſsful in the chace. When they failed in their ſport, they lived upon acorns; and for want of theſe, they fed upon the ſap or inner ſkin that grows between the wood and the bark of the aſpen-tree and the birch.

In the interval between their hunting parties, they made or mended their bows and arrows, the rackets for running upon the ſnow, and the canoes for croſſing the lakes and rivers. Theſe travelling implements, and a few earthen pots, were all the arts of theſe wandering nations. Thoſe among them who were collected in towns, added to theſe the labours requiſite for their ſedentry way of life, for the fencing of their huts, and ſecuring them from being attacked. The ſavages then gave themſelves up to a total inaction, in the moſt profound ſecurity. This people, content with their lot, and ſatisfied with what nature afforded them, were unacquainted with that reſtleſsneſs which ariſes from a ſenſe of our own weakneſs, that loathing of ourſelves and every thing about us, that neceſſity of flying from ſolitude, and eaſing ourſelves of the burden of life by throwing it upon others.

Their ſtature in general was beautifully proportioned; but they had more agility than ſtrength, and were better calculated for ſwiftneſs than hard labour. Their features were regular, with that fierce countenance which they contracted in war and hunting. Their complexion was copper-colour; and they had it from nature, which tans all men who are conſtantly expoſed to the open air. This complexion was rendered ſtill more diſagreeable by the abſurd cuſtom that all ſavages have of painting their bodies and faces, either to diſtinguiſh each other at a diſtance, or to make themſelves more agreeable to their miſtreſſes, or more formidable in war. Beſides this varniſh, they rubbed themſelves with the fat of quadrupeds, or the oil of fiſh, which prevented the intolerable ſtings of gnats and inſects that ſwarm in uncultivated countries. Theſe ointments were prepared and mixed up with certain red juices which were ſuppoſed to be a deadly poiſon to the moſchettoes. To theſe ſeveral methods of anointing themſelves, which penetrate and diſcolour the ſkin, may be added the fumigations they made in their huts to keep

keep off thoſe inſects, and the ſmoke of the fires they kept all winter to warm themſelves and to dry their meat. This was ſufficient to make them appear frightful to our people, though they undoubtedly imagined that it added to their beauty. Their ſight, ſmell, and hearing, and all their ſenſes, were remarkably quick, and gave them early notice of their dangers and wants. Theſe were few, but their ſickneſſes were ſtill fewer. They hardly knew of any but what were occaſioned by too violent exerciſe, or eating too much after long abſtinence.

Their population was but moderate; and poſſibly this might be an advantage to them. Poliſhed nations muſt wiſh for an increaſe of population; becauſe, as they are governed by ambitious rulers, the more inclined to war from not being perſonally engaged in it, they are under a neceſſity of fighting, either to invade or repulſe their neighbours; and becauſe they never have a ſufficient extent of territory to ſatisfy their enterprizing and expenſive way of living. But unconnected nations, who are always wandering, and guarded by the deſerts which divide them; who can fly when they are attacked, and whoſe poverty preſerves them from committing or ſuffering any injuſtice; ſuch ſavage nations had no occaſion to multiply. If they are but able to reſiſt the wild beaſts, occaſionally to drive away an inſignificant enemy, and mutually to aſſiſt each other, nothing more is required. If they were more populous, they would the ſooner have exhauſted the countries they inhabit, and be forced to remove in ſearch of others; the only, or at leaſt the greateſt, misfortune attending their precarious way of life.

Independent of theſe reflections, which, poſſibly, did not occur ſo ſtrongly to the ſavages of Canada, the natureof things was alone ſufficient to check their increaſe. Tho' they lived in a country abounding in game and fiſh, yet in ſome ſeaſons, and ſometimes for whole years, this ſingle reſource failed them: and famine then made a dreadful havock among peo-

ple who were at too great a diſtance to aſſiſt each other. Their wars or tranſient hoſtilities, the reſult of old animoſities, were very deſtructive. Men conſtantly accuſtomed to hunt their prey, to tear in pieces the animal they had overtaken, to hear the cries of death, and ſee the ſhedding of blood, muſt have been ſtill more unmerciful in war, if poſſible, than our own people. In a word, notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid in favour of inuring children to hardſhips, and which miſled Peter the Great to ſuch a degree, that he ordered that none of his ſailors children ſhould drink any thing but ſea water; an experiment which proved fatal to all who tried it; it is certain, that a great many young ſavages periſhed thro' hunger, thirſt, cold, and fatigue. Even thoſe whoſe conſtitution was ſtrong enough to bear the uſual exerciſes of thoſe climates, to ſwim over the broadeſt rivers, to go two hundred leagues on a hunting party, to live many days without ſleep, to ſubſiſt a conſiderable time without any food; ſuch men muſt have been exhauſted, and totally unfit for the purpoſes of generation. Few lived ſo long as our people, who lead a more uniform and quiet life.

The auſterity of a Spartan education, the cuſtom of inuring children to hard labour and coarſe food, has been productive of dangerous miſtakes. Philoſophers, deſirous of alleviating the miſeries incident to mankind, have endeavoured to comfort the wretched who have been doomed to a life of hardſhips, by perſuading them that it was the moſt wholeſome and the beſt. The rich have eagerly adopted a ſyſtem, which hardened their hearts againſt the ſufferings of the poor, and excuſed them from the duties of humanity and compaſſion. But it is a miſtake to imagine that men who are employed in the more laborious arts of ſociety, ſhould live as long as thoſe who enjoy the fruit of their toil. Moderate labour ſtrengthens the human frame, exceſſive labour impairs it. A peaſant is an old man at ſixty; whilſt the inhabitants of towns, who live in affluence and

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with ſome degree of moderation, frequently attain to fourſcore and upwards. Even men of letters, whoſe employments are by no means conducive to health, afford many inſtances of longevity. Let not our modern productions propagate this falſe and cruel error, and encourage the rich to diſregard the groans of the poor, and transfer all their ſenſibility from their vaſſals to their dogs and horſes.

Three original languages were ſpoken in Canada; the Algonquin, the Sioux, and the Huron. They were conſidered as primitive languages, becauſe each of them contained many of thoſe imitative words, which convey an idea of things by the ſound. The dialects derived from them were nearly as many as their towns. No abſtruſe terms were found in thoſe languages, becauſe the infant mind of the ſavages ſeldom goes beyond the preſent object and the preſent time; and as they have but few ideas, they ſeldom need to repreſent ſeveral under one and the ſame ſign. Beſides, the language of theſe people, generally ariſing from a quick, ſingle, and ſtrong ſenſation, excited by the great ſcenes of nature, contracted a lively and poetical caſt in their ſtrong and active imagination. The aſtoniſhment and admiration which their very ignorance excited, gave them a ſtrong propenſity to exaggeration. Their ſoul expreſſed what their eyes ſaw; their language painted, as it were, natural objects in ſtrong colouring, and their diſcourſes were quiet pictureſque. For want of terms agreed upon to denote certain compound ideas, they made uſe of figurative expreſſions. What was ſtill wanting in ſpeech, they ſupplied by their geſtures, their attitudes, their bodily motions, and the modulations of the voice. The boldeſt metaphors were more familiar to them in common converſation, than they are even in epic poetry in the European languages. Their ſpeeches in public aſſemblies, eſpecially, were full of images, energy, and pathos. No Greek or Roman orator ever ſpoke, perhaps, with more ſtrength and ſublimity than one

of their chiefs. Our people wanted to perſuade them to remove at a diſtance from their native ſoil. *We were born*, ſaid he, *on this ground, our fathers lie buried in it. Shall we ſay to the bones of our fathers, Ariſe, and come with us into a foreign land?*

It may eaſily be imagined that ſuch nations could not be ſo gentle nor ſo weak as thoſe of South America. They ſhewed that they had that activity and energy which are always found in the northern nations, unleſs, like the Laplanders, they are of a different ſpecies from ourſelves. They had but juſt attained to that degree of knowledge and civilization, to which inſtinct alone may lead men in the ſpace of a few years; and it is among ſuch people that a philoſopher may ſtudy man in his natural ſtate.

They were divided into ſeveral ſmall nations, whoſe form of government was nearly ſimilar. Some had hereditary chiefs; others elected them; the greater part were only directed by their old men. They were mere aſſociations, formed by chance, and always free; united, indeed, but bound by no tie. The will of individuals was not even over-ruled by the general one. All deciſions were conſidered only as matter of advice, which was not binding, or enforced by any penalty. If, in one of theſe ſingular republics, a man was condemned to death, it was rather a kind of war againſt a common enemy, than an act of juſtice exerciſed againſt a ſubject. Inſtead of coercive power; good manners, example, education, a reſpect for old men, and parental affection, maintained peace in thoſe ſocieties, that had neither laws nor property. Reaſon, which had not been miſled by prejudice or corrupted by paſſion, as it is with us, ſerved them inſtead of moral precepts and regulations of police. Harmony and ſecurity were maintained without the interpoſition of government. Authority never incroached upon that powerful inſtinct of nature, the love of independence, which enlightened by reaſon produces in us the love of equality.

Hence

Hence ariſes that regard which the ſavages have for each other. They laviſh their expreſſions of eſteem, and expect the ſame in return. They are obliging, but reſerved; they weigh their words, and liſten with great attention. Their gravity, which looks like a kind of melancholy, is particularly obſervable in their national aſſemblies. Every one ſpeaks in his turn, according to his age, his experience, and his ſervices. No one is ever interrupted, either by indecent reflections, or ill-timed applauſe. Their public affairs are managed with ſuch diſintereſtedneſs as is unknown in our governments, where the welfare of the ſtate is hardly ever promoted but from ſelfiſh views, or party ſpirit. It is no uncommon thing to hear one of theſe ſavage orators, when his ſpeech has met with univerſal applauſe, telling thoſe who agreed to his opinion, that another man is more deſerving of their confidence.

This mutual reſpect amongſt the inhabitants of the ſame place prevails between the ſeveral nations, when they are not in actual war. The deputies are received and treated with that friendſhip which is due to men who come to treat of peace and alliance. Wandering nations, who have not the leaſt notion of a domain, never negotiate for a project of conqueſt, or for any intereſts relative to dominion. Even thoſe who have a ſettled home, never quarrel with others for coming to live in their diſtrict, provided they do not moleſt them. The earth, ſay they, is made for all men; no one muſt poſſeſs the ſhare of two. All the politics, therefore, of the ſavages conſiſt in forming leagues againſt an enemy who is too numerous or too ſtrong, and in ſuſpending hoſtilities that become too deſtructive. When they are agreed upon a truce or league of amity, it is ratified by mutually exchanging a belt or ſtring of beads, which are a kind of ſnail-ſhells. The white ones are very common; but the purple ones, which are ſcarcer, and the black, which are ſtill more ſo, are much eſteemed. They work them into a cylindrical

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form, bore them, and then make them up into branches or necklaces. The branches are about a foot long; and the beads are ſtrung upon them in ſtraight rows. The necklaces are broad belts, on which the beads are placed in rows, and neatly tacked down with little ſlips of leather. The meaſure, weight, and colour of the ſhells, determine the importance of the buſineſs. They ſerve as jewels, as records, and as annals. They are the bond of union between nations and individuals. They are the ſacred and inviolable pledge which gives a ſanction to words, to promiſes, and to treaties. The chiefs of towns are the keepers of theſe records. They know their meaning; they interpret them; and by means of theſe ſigns, they tranſmit the hiſtory of the country to their young people.

As the ſavages poſſeſs no riches, they are of a benevolent turn. A ſtriking inſtance of this appears in the care they take of their orphans, widows, and infirm people. They liberally ſhare their ſcanty proviſion with thoſe whoſe crops have failed, or who have been unſucceſsful in hunting or fiſhing. Their tables and their huts are open night and day to ſtrangers and travellers. This generous hoſpitality, which makes the advantages of a private man a public bleſſing, is chiefly conſpicuous in their entertainments. A ſavage claims reſpect, not ſo much from what he poſſeſſes as from what he gives away. Accordingly the whole proviſion of a ſix months chaſe is often expended in one day, and he who treats enjoys more pleaſure than his gueſts.

None of the writers who have deſcribed the manners of the ſavages have reckoned benevolence amongſt their virtues. But this may be owing to prejudice, which has made them confound antipathy and reſentment with natural temper. Theſe people neither love nor eſteem the Europeans, nor are they very kind to them. The inequality of conditions, which we think ſo neceſſary for the well-being of ſociety, is in their opinion the greateſt folly. They are ſhocked

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to ſee, that, amongſt us, one man has more property than ſeveral others put together; and that this firſt injuſtice is productive of a ſecond, which is, that the man who has moſt riches is on that account the moſt reſpected. But what appears to them a meanneſs below that of the brute creation is, that men who are equal by nature ſhould ſtoop to depend upon the will or the caprice of another. The reſpect we ſhow to titles, dignities, and eſpecially to hereditary nobility, they call an inſult, an injury to human nature. Whoever knows how to guide a canoe, to beat an enemy, to build a hut, to live upon little, to go a hundred leagues in the woods, with no other guide than the wind and ſun, or any proviſion but a bow and arrows; he is a man, and what more can be expected of him? That reſtleſs diſpoſition which prompts us to croſs ſo many ſeas, to ſeek a fortune that flies before us, appears to them rather the effect of poverty than of induſtry. They laugh at our arts, our manners, and all thoſe cuſtoms which inſpire us with vanity in proportion as they remove us from the ſtate of nature. Their frankneſs and honeſty is rouzed to indignation at the tricks and cunning which have been practiſed in our dealings with them. A multitude of other motives, ſome founded on prejudice, but moſt on reaſon, have rendered the Europeans odious to the Indians. They have uſed repriſals, and are become harſh and cruel in their dealings with us. That averſion and contempt they have conceived for our morals, has always made them ſhun our ſociety. We have never been able to reconcile any of them to the indulgences of our way of life; whereas we have ſeen ſome Europeans forego all the conveniences of civil life, go into the foreſts, and take up the bow and the club of the ſavage. An innate ſpirit of benevolence, however, ſometimes brings them back to us. At the beginning of the winter, a French veſſel was wrecked upon the rocks of Anticoſti. Such of the ſailors as had eſcaped, in this deſert, and ſavage iſland, the rigour of the ſeaſon and

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the dangers of famine, conſtructed, from the remains of their ſhip, a bark, which in the ſpring ſeaſon conveyed them to the continent. They were obſerved in a languid and expiring ſtate by a canoe full of ſavages. *Brethren*, ſaid the chief of this ſolitary family, addreſſing himſelf affectionately to them, *the wretched are entitled to our pity and our aſſiſtance. We are men, and the misfortunes incident to the human race affect us as much in others as in ourſelves.* Theſe humane expreſſions were accompanied with every kind of help theſe generous ſavages had it in their power to beſtow.

One thing was wanting to complete the happineſs of the free Americans; they were not paſſionately fond of their wives. Nature indeed has beſtowed on their women a good ſhape, beautiful eyes, pleaſing features, and long black hair. All theſe accompliſhments are no longer regarded than whilſt they are in a ſtate of independence. They no ſooner ſubmit to the matrimonial yoke, but that even their huſband, who is the only man they love, grows inſenſible to thoſe charms they are ſo liberal of before marriage. Indeed, they are doomed to a way of life that is not favourable to beauty. Their features alter, and they loſe at once the deſire and the power of pleaſing. They are laborious, indefatigable, and active. They dig the ground, ſow, and reap; whilſt their huſbands, who diſdain to ſtoop to the drudgeries of huſbandry, amuſe themſelves with hunting, fiſhing, ſhooting with a bow, and exerciſing the dominion of man over the earth.

Many of theſe nations allow a plurality of wives; and even thoſe that do not practiſe polygamy, admit of divorce. The very idea of an indiſſoluble tie never once entered the thoughts of theſe people who are free till death. When thoſe who are married diſagree, they part by conſent, and divide their children between them. Nothing appears to them more repugnant to nature and reaſon than the contrary ſyſtem which prevails among Chriſtians. *The great ſpirit*,

ſpirit, ſay they, *hath created us all to be happy; and we ſhould offend him, were we to live in a perpetual ſtate of conſtraint and uneaſineſs.* This ſyſtem agrees with what one of the Miamis ſaid to one of our miſſionaries: *My wife and I were continually at variance: My neighbour diſagreed equally with his. We have changed wives, and are all ſatisfied.*

It has been generally ſaid, that the ſavages are not much addicted to the pleaſures of love. But if they are not ſo fond of women as civilized people are, it is not, perhaps, for want of powers or inclination to population. But the firſt wants of nature may, perhaps, check in them the claims of the ſecond. Their ſtrength is almoſt all exhauſted in procuring their food. Hunting and other expeditions leave them neither the opportunity nor the leiſure of attending to population. No wandering nation can ever be populous. What muſt become of women obliged to follow their huſbands to the diſtance of a hundred leagues, with children at their breaſt or in their arms? What would become of the children themſelves if deprived of the milk that muſt neceſſarily dry up in the courſe of the journey? Hunting, then, prevents the increaſe of mankind, and even deſtroys it. A ſavage warrior reſiſts the ſeducing arts of young woman who ſtrive to allure him. When nature compels this tender ſex to make the firſt advances, and to purſue the men that fly them, thoſe who are leſs inflamed with military ardour, than with the charms of beauty, yield to the temptation. But the true warriors who have been early taught that an intercourſe with women enervates ſtrength and courage, do not give way. Canada, therefore, is not a deſert from natural defects, but from the tract of life which its inhabitants purſue. Though they are as fit for procreation as our northern people, all their ſtrength is employed for their own preſervation. Hunger does not allow them to attend to the ſofter paſſions. If the people of the ſouth ſacrifice every thing to this deſire, it is becauſe the firſt is eaſily ſatisfied. In a country where nature is very prolific, and man conſumes

ſumes but little, the overplus of his ſtrength is turned wholly to population, which is likewiſe aſſiſted by the warmth of the climate. In a climate where men conſume more than nature affords them with eaſe, the time and the faculties of the human ſpecies are exhauſted in fatigues that are detrimental to population.

But a farther proof that the ſavages are not leſs inclined to women than we are, is, that they are much fonder of their children. Their mothers ſuckle them till they are four or five years old, and ſometimes to ſix or ſeven. From their earlieſt infancy, their parents reſpect their natural independence, and never beat or chide them, becauſe they will not check that free and martial ſpirit which is one day to conſtitute their principal character. They even forbear to make uſe of ſtrong arguments to perſuade them, becauſe this would be in ſome meaſure a reſtraint laid upon their free will. As they are taught nothing but what they want to know, they are the happieſt children upon earth. If they die, the parents lament them with deep regret. The father and mother will ſometimes go ſix months after, and weep over the grave of their child, and the mother will ſprinkle it with her own milk.

The ties of friendſhip amongſt the ſavages are almoſt as ſtrong as thoſe of nature, and more laſting. Theſe are never broken by that variety of claſhing intereſts, which, in our ſocieties, weaken even the tendereſt and moſt ſacred connections. There the heart of one man chuſes another, in which he depoſites his inmoſt thoughts, his ſentiments, his projects, his ſorrows, and his joys. Every thing becomes common between two friends. Their union is for life: they fight ſide by ſide; and if one falls, the other conſtantly dies upon his friend's body. If they are ſeparated in ſome imminent danger, each calls upon the name of his friend; each invokes his ſpirit, this is his tutelar deity.

The ſavages ſhew a degree of penetration and ſagacity, which aſtoniſhes every one who has not obſerved

ſerved how much our arts and methods of life contribute to render our minds ſlow and inactive; becauſe we are ſeldom put to the trouble of thinking, and have only to learn what is already diſcovered. If they have brought nothing to perfection any more than the moſt ſagacious animals, it is, probably, becauſe theſe people, having no ideas but ſuch as relate to the preſent wants, the equality that ſubſiſts between them lays every individual under a neceſſity of thinking for himſelf, and of ſpending his whole life in acquiring this occaſional learning: hence it may be reaſonably inferred, that the ſum total of ideas in a ſociety of ſavages is no more than the ſum of ideas of each individual.

Inſtead of abſtruſe meditations, the ſavages delight in ſongs. They are ſaid to have no variety in their ſinging; but we are uncertain whether thoſe that have heard them had an ear properly adapted to their muſic. When we firſt hear a foreign language, the words ſeem all the ſame, we think it is all pronounced with the ſame tone, without any modulation or proſody. It is only by continued habit that we learn to diſtinguiſh the words and ſyllables, and to perceive that ſome are dull and others ſharp, ſome long and others ſhort. The ſame may be equally true with regard to the melody of a people, whoſe ſong muſt bear ſome analogy to their ſpeech.

Their dances are generally an image of war, and they uſually dance completely armed. They are ſo exact, quick, and dreadful, that an European, when firſt he ſees them, cannot help being ſtruck with horror. He imagines that the ground will in a moment be covered with blood and ſcattered limbs, and that none of the dancers or the ſpectators will remain. It is ſome what remarkable, that in the firſt ages of the world, and amongſt ſavage nations, dancing ſhould be an imitative art; and that it ſhould have loſt that characteriſtic in civilized countries, where it ſeems to be reduced to a ſet of ſteps without meaning. But it is with dances as with lan-

guages, they grow abſtracted like the ideas they are intended to repreſent. The ſigns of them are more allegorical, as the minds of the people become more refined. In the ſame manner as a ſingle word, in a learned language, expreſſes ſeveral ideas; ſo, in an allegorical dance, a ſingle ſtep, a ſingle attitude is ſufficient to excite a variety of ſenſations. It is owing to want of imagination either in the dancers, or the ſpectators, if a figured dance is not, or does not appear to be, expreſſive. Beſides, the ſavages can exhibit none but ſtrong paſſions and fierce manners; and theſe muſt be repreſented by more ſignificant images in their dances, which are the language of geſture, the firſt and ſimpleſt of all languages. Nations living in a ſtate of civil ſociety, and in peace, have only the gentler paſſions to repreſent; which are beſt expreſſed by delicate images, fit to convey refined ideas. It might not, however, be improper ſometimes to bring back dancing to its firſt origin, to exhibit the old ſimplicity of manners, to revive the firſt ſenſations of nature by motions which repreſent them, and to depart from the antiquated and ſcientific mode of the Greeks and Romans, and adopt the lively and ſignificant images of the rude Canadians.

Theſe ſavages, always wholly taken up with the preſent paſſion, are extravagantly fond of gaming, as is uſual with all idle people, and eſpecially of games of chance. Theſe men, who are commonly ſo ſedate, ſo moderate, ſo diſintereſted, and have ſuch a command of themſelves, are outrageous, greedy, and turbulent at play; they loſe their peace, their ſenſes, and all they are worth. Deſtitute of almoſt every thing, coveting all they ſee, and, when they like it, eager to have and enjoy it, they give themſelves up entirely to the quickeſt and eaſieſt means of acquiring it. This is a conſequence of their manners, as well as of their character. The ſight of preſent happineſs always blinds them as to the evils that may enſue. Their forecaſt does not even reach from day to night. They are alternately ſilly children and terrible men. All depends with them on the preſent moment.

Gaming

Gaming alone would incline them to ſuperſtition, even if they had not a natural propenſity to that bane of the happineſs of mankind. But as they have few phyſicians or quacks to have recourſe to, they ſuffer leſs from this malady than more poliſhed nations, and are more open to the voice of reaſon. The Iroquois have a confuſed notion of a Firſt Being who governs the world. They never grieve at the evil which this being permits. When ſome miſchance befals them, they ſay, *The man above would have it ſo;* and there is, perhaps, more philoſophy in this ſubmiſſion than in all the reaſonings and declamations of our philoſophers. Moſt other ſavage nations worſhip thoſe two firſt principles, which occur to the human mind as ſoon as it has acquired any conception of inviſible ſubſtances. Sometimes they worſhip a river, a foreſt, the ſun or the moon; in ſhort, any beings in which they have obſerved a certain power and motion; becauſe wherever they ſee motion, which they cannot account for, there they ſuppoſe a ſoul.

They ſeem to have ſome notion of a future ſtate; but as they have no principles of morality, they do not think that the next life is a ſtate of reward for virtue and puniſhment for vice. Their opinion of it conſiſts in believing, that the indefatigable huntſman, and the fearleſs and mercileſs warrior, the man who has ſlain or burnt many enemies, and made his own town victorious, will after death go into a country where he will find plenty of all kinds of animals to aſſuage his hunger; whereas thoſe who are grown old in indolence and without glory, will be for ever baniſhed into a barren land, where they will be eternally tormented with famine and ſickneſs. Their tenets are ſuited to their manners and their wants. They believe in ſuch pleaſures and ſuch ſufferings as they are acquainted with. They have more hopes than fears, and are happy even in their deluſions. Yet they are often tormented with dreams.

Ignorance is prone to look for ſomething myſterious in dreams, and to aſcribe them to the agency of

ſome powerful being, who takes the opportunity, when our faculties are ſuſpended and lulled aſleep, of watching over us in the abſence of our ſenſes. It is as it were a ſoul, diſtinct from our own, that glides into us, to inform us of what is to come, when we cannot yet ſee it; whereas futurity is always preſent to that Being who created it.

In the ſharp climates of Canada, where the people live by hunting, their nerves are apt to be overſtrained by the inclemency of the weather, and by fatigue and long abſtinence. When theſe ſavages have melancholy and troubleſome dreams, they fancy they are ſurrounded with enemies; they ſee their town ſurpriſed, and ſwimming in blood; they receive injuries and wounds; their wives, their children, their friends, are carried off. When they awake, they take theſe viſions for a warning from the gods; and that fear which firſt inſpired them with this notion, makes them look more fierce and gloomy. The old women, who are uſeleſs in the world, dream for the ſafety of the commonwealth. Some weak old men, too, dream on public affairs, in which they have no ſhare or influence. Young men who are unfit for war or laborious exerciſes, will dream too, that they may bear ſome part in the adminiſtration, of the clan. In vain hath it been attempted, during two centuries, to diſpel illuſions ſo deeply rooted. *You Chriſtians*, have always anſwered the ſavages, *you laugh at the faith we have in dreams, and yet require us to believe things infinitely more improbable.* Thus we ſee in theſe untutored nations the ſeeds of prieſtcraft with all its train of evils.

Were it not for theſe melancholy fits and dreams, there would ſcarce ever be any contentions amongſt them. Europeans who have lived long in theſe countries, aſſure us they never ſaw an Indian in a paſſion. Without ſuperſtition, there would be as few national as private quarrels.

Private differences are moſt commonly adjuſted by the bulk of the people. The reſpect ſhewn by the nation

nation to the aggrieved party, ſoothes his ſelf-love, and diſpoſes him to peace. It is more difficult to prevent quarrels, or put an end to hoſtilities, between two nations.

War often takes its riſe from hunting. When two companies, which were ſeparated by a foreſt a hundred leagues in extent, happen to meet, and to interfere with each other's ſport, they ſoon quarrel, and turn thoſe weapons againſt one another, which were intended for the deſtruction of bears. This ſlight ſkirmiſh is a ſeed of eternal diſcord. The vanquiſhed party ſwears implacable vengeance againſt the conquerors, a national hatred which will live in their poſterity, and revive out of their aſhes. Theſe quarrels, however, are ſometimes ſtifled in the wounds of both parties, when on each ſide there happen to be only ſome fiery youths, who are deſirous of trying their ſkill, and whoſe impatience has hurried them too far. But the rage of whole nations is not eaſily kindled.

When there is a cauſe for war, it is not left to the judgment and deciſion of one man. The nation meets, and the chief ſpeaks. He ſtates the grievances. The matter is conſidered, the dangers and the conſequences of a rupture are carefully balanced. The ſpeakers enter directly on the ſubject, without ſtopping, without digreſſion, or miſtaking the caſe. The ſeveral intereſts are diſcuſſed with a ſtrength of reaſoning and eloquence that ariſes from the evidence and ſimplicity of the objects: and even with an impartiality that is leſs biaſſed by their ſtrong paſſions, than it is with us by a complication of ideas. If they unanimouſly decide for war by an univerſal ſhout, the allies are invited to join them, which they ſeldom refuſe, as they always have ſome injury to revenge, or ſome dead to replace by priſoners.

They next proceed to the election of a chief, or captain of the expedition; and great ſtreſs is laid upon phyſiognomy. This might be a fallacious and even ridiculous way of judging of men, where they

have been trained up from their infancy to diſguiſe their real ſentiments, and where, by a conſtant practice of diſſimulation and factitious paſſions, the countenance is no longer expreſſive of the mind. But a ſavage, who is ſolely guided by nature, and is acquainted with its workings, is ſeldom miſtaken in the judgment he forms at firſt ſight. The chief requiſite, next to a warlike aſpect, is a ſtrong voice; becauſe in armies that march without drums or clarions, the better to ſurpriſe the enemy, nothing is ſo proper to ſound an alarm, or to give the ſignal for the onſet, as the terrible voice of a chief who ſhouts and ſtrikes at the ſame time. But the beſt recommendations for a general, are his exploits. Every one is at liberty to boaſt of his victories, in order to march foremoſt to meet danger; to tell what he has done, in order to ſhew what he will do; and the ſavages think ſelf-commendation not unbecoming a hero who can ſhew his ſcars.

He that is to head the reſt in the road to victory, never fails to harangue them. "Comrades, (ſays "he), the bones of our brethren are ſtill uncovered. "They cry out againſt us; we muſt ſatisfy them. "Young men, to arms; fill your quivers; paint "yourſelves with gloomy colours that may ſtrike "terror. Let the woods ring with our warlike "ſongs. Let us ſoothe the dead with the ſhouts of "vengeance. Let us go and bathe in the blood of "our enemies, take priſoners, and fight as long as "water ſhall flow in the rivers, and as long as the "ſun and moon ſhall remain fixed in the firmament."

At theſe words, the brave men who long to encounter the hazards of war, go to the chief, and ſay, *I will riſk with thee. So you ſhall*, replies the chief, *we will riſk together*. But as no one has been ſolicited, leſt a falſe point of honour ſhould induce cowards to march, a man muſt undergo many trials before he can be admitted as a ſoldier. If a young man, who has never yet faced the enemy, ſhould betray the leaſt impatience, when, after long abſtinence,

nence, he is expoſed to the ſcorching heat of the ſun, the intenſe froſts of the night, or the bloody ſtings of inſects, he would be declared incapable and unworthy to bear arms. Are our militias and armies formed in this manner? On the contrary, what a mournful and ominous ceremony is ours! Men who have not been able to ſave themſelves, by flight, from being preſſed into the ſervice, or could not procure an exemption by purchaſe or by claiming ſome privilege, drag themſelves heavily along, with downcaſt looks, and pale dejected faces, before a delegate, whoſe functions are odious to the people, and whoſe honeſty is doubtful. The afflicted and trembling parents ſeem to be following their ſon to the grave. A black ſcroll, iſſuing from a fatal urn, points out the victims which the prince devotes to war. A diſtracted mother in vain preſſes her ſon to her boſom, and ſtrives to detain him; he is torn from her arms, and ſhe bids him farewel for ever, curſing the day of her marriage and that of her delivery. It is not, ſurely, thus that good ſoldiers are to be formed. It is not in this mournful way, and with ſuch conſternation, that the ſavages meet victory. They march out in the midſt of feſtivity, ſinging, and dancing. The young married women follow their huſbands for a day or two, but without ſhowing any ſigns of grief or ſorrow. Theſe women, who never once cry out in the pangs of child-birth, would ſcorn to ſoften the minds of the defenders and avengers of their country, by their tears, or even by their endearments.

Their weapons are a kind of ſpear armed with ſharp bones, and a ſmall club of very hard wood, with one cutting edge. Inſtead of this laſt, ſince their acquaintance with the Europeans, they make uſe of a hatchet, which they handle with amazing dexterity. Moſt of them have no inſtrument of defence; but if they chance to attack the pales that ſurround a town, they cover their body with a thick plank. Some uſed to wear a kind of cuiraſs made

with

with plaited reeds; but they left it off, when they ſaw it was not proof againſt fire-arms.

The army is followed by dreamers, who aſſume the name of jugglers, and are too often ſuffered to determine the military operations. They march without any colours. All the warriors, who fight almoſt naked to be the more alert, daub their bodies with coals, to appear more terrible, or elſe with mould, to conceal themſelves at a diſtance, and the better to ſurpriſe the enemy. Notwithſtanding their natural intrepidity, and averſion for all diſguiſe, their wars degenerate into artifice. Theſe deceitful arts, common to all nations whether ſavage or civilized, are become neceſſary to the petty nations of Canada. They would have totally deſtroyed one another, had they not made the glory of their chiefs to conſiſt in bringing home all their companions, rather than in ſhedding the blood of their foes. Honour, therefore, is to be gained by falling upon the enemy before he is aware. Theſe people, whoſe ſenſes have never been impaired, are extremely quick-ſcented, and can diſcover the places where men have trod. By the keenneſs of their ſight or ſmell, it is ſaid they can trace footſteps upon the ſhorteſt graſs, upon the dry ground, and even upon ſtone; and from the nature of the footſteps, can find out what nation they belong to. Perhaps they may diſcover this by the leaves with which the foreſts always ſtrew the ground.

When they are ſo fortunate as to ſurpriſe the enemy, they diſcharge a whole volley of arrows, and fall upon him with their clubs or hatchets in their hands. If he is upon his guard, or too well intrenched, they retreat if they can; if not, they muſt fight till they conquer or die. The victorious party diſpatch the wounded men whom they could not carry away, ſcalp the dead, and take ſome priſoners.

The conqueror leaves his hatchet upon the field of battle, having previouſly engraved upon it the mark of his nation, that of his family, and eſpecially his

own

own picture; that is to say, an oval with the figures marked on his own face. Others paint all these ensigns of honour, or rather trophies of victory, on the stump of a tree, or on a piece of the bark, with coal mixed up with several colours. To this they add the history, not only of the battle, but of the whole campaign, in hieroglyphic characters. Immediately after the general's picture, are those of his soldiers, marked by so many lines; the number of prisoners pointed out by so many little images, and that of the dead by so many human figures without heads. Such are the expressive and technical signs which, in all original societies, have preceded the art of writing and printing, and the voluminous libraries which fill the palaces of the rich and idle, and encumber the heads of the learned.

The history of an Indian war is but a short one; they make haste to set it down, for fear the enemy should turn back and fall upon them. The conqueror glories in a precipitate retreat, and never stops till he reaches his own territory and his own town. There he is received with the warmest transports of joy, and finds his reward in the applauses of his countrymen. They then consider how they shall dispose of the prisoners, who are the only fruit of their victory.

The most fortunate of the captives are those who are chosen to replace the warriors who fell in the late action or in former battles. This adoption has been wisely contrived, to perpetuate nations which would soon be destroyed by frequent wars. The prisoners, being once incorporated into a family, become cousins, uncles, fathers, brothers, husbands: in short, they succeed to any degree of consanguinity in which the deceased stood whose place they supply; and these affectionate titles convey all their rights to them, at the same time that they bind them to all their engagements. Far from declining the attachments which are due to the family that has adopted them, they will not refuse even to take up arms against their own countrymen. Yet this is surely a

strange

ſtrange inverſion of the ties of nature. They muſt be very weak-minded men, thus to ſhift the object of their regard with the viciſſitudes of fortune. The truth is, that war ſeems to cancel all the bonds of nature, and to confine a man's feelings to himſelf alone. Hence ariſes that union between friends obſervable among the ſavages, ſtronger than thoſe that ſubſiſt between relations. Thoſe who are to fight and die together, are more firmly attached than thoſe who are born together or under the ſame roof. When war or death has diſſolved that kindred which is cemented by nature or has been formed by choice, the ſame fate which loads the ſavage with chains gives him new relations and friends. Cuſtom and common conſent have introduced this ſingular law, which undoubtedly ſprang from neceſſity.

But it ſometimes happens, that a priſoner refuſes this adoption; ſometimes, that he is excluded from it. A tall handſome priſoner had loſt ſeveral of his fingers in battle. This circumſtance was not noticed at firſt. *Friend*, ſaid the widow to whom he was alloted, *we had choſen thee to live with us; but in the condition I ſee thee, unable to fight and to defend us, of what uſe is life to thee? Death is certainly preferable.* *I believe it is*, anſwered the ſavage. *Well then*, replied the woman, *this evening thou ſhalt be tied to the ſtake. For thy own glory, and for the honour of our family who have adopted thee, remember to behave as a man of courage.* He promiſed he would, and kept his word. For three days he endured the moſt cruel torments with a conſtancy and cheerfulneſs that ſet them all at defiance. His new family never forſook him; but encouraged him by their applauſe, and ſupplied him with drink and tobacco in the midſt of his ſufferings. What mixture of virtue and ferocity! every thing is great in theſe people who are not enſlaved. This is the ſublime of nature in all its horrors and its beauties.

The captives whom none chuſe to adopt, are ſoon condemned to death. The victims are prepared for it

it by every thing that may tend to inſpire them with a regret for life. The beſt fare, the kindeſt uſage, the moſt endearing names, are laviſhed upon them. They are even ſometimes indulged with women to the very moment of their ſentence. Is this compaſſion, or is it a refinement of barbarity? At laſt a herald comes, and acquaints the wretch that the pile is ready. *Brother*, ſays he, *be patient, thou art going to be burnt. Very well, brother*, ſays the priſoner, *I thank thee.*

Theſe words are received with general applauſe; but the women are the moſt eager in the common joy. She to whom the priſoner is delivered up, inſtantly invokes the ſhade of a father, a huſband, a ſon, the deareſt friend whoſe death is ſtill unrevenged. *Draw near*, ſhe cries, *I am preparing a feaſt for thee. Come and drink large draughts of the broth I intend to give thee. This warrior is going to be put into the cauldron. They will apply hot hatchets all over his body: They will pull off his hair: They will drink out of his ſkull: Thou ſhalt be avenged and ſatisfied.*

This furious woman then ruſhes upon her victim, who is tied to a poſt near the fiery pile; and by ſtriking or maiming him, ſhe gives the ſignal for the intended cruelties. There is not a woman or a child in the clan whom this ſight has brought together who does not take a part in the torturing and ſlaying of the miſerable captive. Some pierce his fleſh with firebrands, others cut it in ſlices; ſome tear off his nails, whilſt others cut off his fingers, roaſt them, and devour them before his face. Nothing ſtops his executioners but the fear of haſtening his end: they ſtudy to prolong his ſufferings for whole days, and ſometimes they make him linger for a whole week.

In the midſt of theſe torments, the hero with great compoſure ſings his death-ſong; inſults his enemies, upbraids them for their weakneſs, tells them they know not how to revenge the death of their relations whom he has ſlain, and excites them by outrages or intreaties to a farther exertion of their cruelties. It

is a conflict between the victim and his tormentors; a dreadful challenge between conſtancy in ſuffering and obſtinacy in tormenting. But the ſenſe of glory predominates. Whether this intoxication of enthuſiaſm ſuſpends or wholly benumbs all ſenſe of pain, or whether cuſtom and education alone produce theſe prodigies of heroiſm, certain it is, that the patient dies without ever ſhedding a tear or heaving a ſigh.

How ſhall we account for this inſenſibility? Is it owing to the climate, or to their manner of life? No doubt, colder blood, thicker humours, a conſtitution rendered more phlegmatic by the dampneſs of the air and the ground, may blunt the irritability of the nervous ſyſtem in Canada. Men who are conſtantly expoſed to all the inclemencies of the weather, the fatigues of hunting, and the perils of war, contract ſuch a rigidity of the fibres, ſuch a habit of ſuffering, as makes them inſenſible to pain. It is ſaid the ſavages are ſcarce ever convulſed in the agonies of death, whether they die of ſickneſs or of a wound. As they have no apprehenſions either of the approaches or the conſequences of death, their imagination does not ſuggeſt that artificial ſenſibility which mere nature will inſpire. Their whole life, both natural and moral, is calculated to inſpire them with a contempt for death, which we ſo much dread; and to enable them to overcome the ſenſe of pain, which is irritated by our indulgences.

But what is ſtill more aſtoniſhing in the Indians than their intrepidity in torments, is the ferociouſneſs of their revenge. It is dreadful to think that man may become the moſt cruel of all animals. In general, revenge is not atrocious either among nations or between individuals who are governed by good laws; becauſe thoſe very laws which protect the ſubjects, keep them from offending. Vengeance is not a very quick ſentiment in the wars of great nations, becauſe they have but little to fear from their enemies. But in thoſe petty nations, where every individual conſtitutes a great part of the ſtate himſelf, where the carrying

carrying off of one man endangers the whole community, war can be nothing elſe than the ſpirit of revenge that actuates the whole ſtate: amongſt independent men who have that ſelf-eſteem which can never be felt by men who are under ſubjection, amongſt ſavages whoſe affections are very lively and confined, injuries muſt neceſſarily be reſented to the greateſt degree, becauſe they affect the perſon in the moſt ſenſible manner: the aſſaſſination of a friend, of a ſon, of a brother, or of a fellow-citizen, cannot but be avenged to the laſt drop of the murderer's blood. Theſe ever beloved ſhades are continually calling out for vengeance from their graves. They wander about in the foreſts, amidſt the mournful accents of the birds of night; they appear in the phoſphorus and in the lightning; and ſuperſtition ſpeaks of them in the afflicted or incenſed hearts of their friends.

When we conſider the hatred which the hordes of theſe ſavages bear to each other; the hardſhips they undergo; the ſcarcity they are often expoſed to; the frequency of their wars; the ſcantineſs of their population; the numberleſs ſnares we lay for them; we cannot but foreſee, that, in leſs than three centuries, the whole race will be extinct. What will poſterity then think of this ſpecies of men, who will exiſt no more but in the accounts of travellers? Will not the times of ſavages appear to them in the ſame light as the fabulous times of antiquity do to us? They will ſpeak of them, as we do of the Centaurs and Lapithæ. How many contradictions ſhall we not diſcover in their cuſtoms and manners? Will not ſuch of our writings as may then have eſcaped the deſtructive hand of time, paſs for romantic inventions, like thoſe which Plato has left us concerning the ancient Atlantica?

CHAP. II.

Wars of the INDIANS. The Coloniſts embroil themſelves therein.

THE character of the North Americans, ſuch as we have deſcribed it, had ſingularly diſplayed itſelf in the war between the Iroquois and the Algonquins. Theſe two nations, the largeſt in Canada, had formed a kind of confederacy. The former, who tilled the ground, imparted their productions to their allies; who, in return, ſhared with them the produce of their chace. Connected as they both were by their reciprocal wants, they mutually defended each other. During the ſeaſon when the ſnow interrupted all the labours of the field, they lived together. The Algonquins went out a hunting; and the Iroquois ſtaid at home to ſkin the beaſts, cure the fleſh, and dreſs the hides.

It happened one year, that a party of Algonquins, who were not very ſkilful or well verſed in the chace, proved unſucceſsful. The Iroquois who attended them deſired leave to try whether they ſhould be more fortunate. This complaiſance, which had ſometimes been ſhewn them, was denied. Irritated at this unſeaſonable refuſal, they ſtole away in the night, and brought home a plentiful capture. The Algonquins were greatly mortified; and to blot out the very remembrance of their diſgrace, they waited till the Iroquois huntſmen were aſleep, and ſlew them all. This maſſacre occaſioned a great alarm. The offended nation demanded juſtice, which was haughtily refuſed; and they were given to underſtand that they muſt not expect even the ſmalleſt ſatisfaction.

The Iroquois, enraged at this contemptuous treatment, ſwore to be revenged, or periſh in the attempt. But not being powerful enough to venture an attack upon the proud offenders, they removed to a greater diſtance

diſtance in order to try their ſtrength and improve themſelves in the art of war againſt ſome leſs formidable nations. As ſoon as they had learnt to come on like foxes, to attack like lions, and to fly like birds, as they expreſs themſelves, they were no longer afraid to encounter the Algonquins; and, therefore, carried on a war againſt them with a degree of ferociouſneſs proportionable to their reſentment.

It was juſt at the time when theſe animoſities were kindled throughout Canada, that the French made their firſt appearance there. The Montagnez, who inhabited the lower parts of the river St Lawrence; the Algonquins, who lived along the banks of that river, from Quebec to Montreal; the Hurons, who were diſperſed about the lake that bears that name; and ſome leſs conſiderable nations, who wandered about in the intermediate ſpaces; were all of them inclined to favour the ſettlement of the ſtrangers. Theſe ſeveral nations combined againſt the Iroquois; but, unable to withſtand them, imagined that they might find in their new gueſts an unexpected reſource, from which they promiſed themſelves infallible ſucceſs. Judging of the French as if they had known them, they flattered themſelves they might engage them in their quarrel, and were not diſappointed. Champlain, the leader of the firſt colony, and the founder of Quebec, who ought to have availed himſelf of the ſuperiority of knowledge the Europeans had over the Americans, to endeavour to bring about a reconciliation, did not even attempt it. He warmly eſpouſed the intereſts of his neighbours, and accompanied them in queſt of their enemy.

The country of the Iroquois extended near eighty leagues in length, and ſomewhat more than forty in breadth. Its boundaries were, the lake Erie, the lake Ontario, the river St Lawrence, and the famous countries ſince known by the names of New-York and Penſylvania. The ſpace between theſe vaſt limits was watered by ſeveral fine rivers. It was inhabited by five nations, which could bring about twenty

thouſand warriors into the field; though they are now reduced to leſs than fifteen hundred. They formed a kind of league or aſſociation, not unlike that of the Switzers or the Dutch. Their deputies met once a-year, to hold their feaſt of union, and to deliberate on the intereſts of the commonwealth.

Though the Iroquois did not expect to be again attacked by enemies who had ſo often been conquered, yet they were not unprepared. The engagement was begun with equal confidence on both ſides; one part relying on their uſual ſuperiority, the other on the aſſiſtance of their new ally, whoſe firearms could not fail of inſuring the victory. And, indeed, no ſooner had Champlain and two Frenchmen who attended him fired a ſhot, which killed two chiefs of the Iroquois, and mortally wounded a third, than the whole army fled in the utmoſt amazement and conſternation.

An alteration in the mode of attack induced them to think of changing their mode of defence. In the next campaign, they imagined it would be neceſſary to intrench themſelves againſt weapons they were unacquainted with. But their precaution was ineffectual. Notwithſtanding an obſtinate reſiſtance, their intrenchments were forced by the Indians, ſupported by a briſker fire and a greater number of Frenchmen than in the firſt expedition. The Iroquois were almoſt all killed or taken. Thoſe who had eſcaped the action were precipitated into a river and drowned.

It is moſt probable that this nation would have been deſtroyed, or compelled to live in peace, had not the Dutch, who in 1610 had founded the colony of new Belgia in their neighbourhood, furniſhed them with arms and amunition. Poſſibly, too, they might ſecretly excite their diviſions; becauſe the furs taken from the enemy, during the continuance of hoſtilities, were a greater object than thoſe they could procure from their own chaſe. However this may be, this additional weight reſtored the balance of ſtrength be-

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tween both parties. Various hoſtilities and injuries were committed by each nation, and they were both in conſequence of them conſiderably weakened. This perpetual ebb and flow of ſucceſs or misfortunes, which, in governments actuated by motives of intereſt rather than of revenge, would infallibly have reſtored tranquillity, ſerved but to increaſe their animoſities, and to exaſparate a number of little clans, reſolved upon deſtroying one another. The conſequence was, that the weakeſt of theſe petty nations were ſoon deſtroyed, and the reſt were gradually reduced to nothing.

CHAP. III.

Of the FURS.

BEFORE the diſcovery of Canada, the foreſts with which it was over-run were little more than the extenſive haunt of wild beaſts. They had multiplied prodigiouſly, becauſe the few men who lived in thoſe deſarts without flocks or tame animals, left more room and more food for the animal race, wandering and free like themſelves. If the nature of the climate did not afford an infinite variety, each ſpecies produced at leaſt a multitude of individuals. But they at laſt paid tribute to the ſovereignty of man, that cruel title ſo fatal to every living creature. Having neither arts nor huſbandry to employ them, the ſavages fed and clothed themſelves wholly at the expence of the wild beaſts. As ſoon as our luxury had made us adopt the uſe of their ſkins, the natives waged a perpetual war againſt them; which was the more active, as it procured them plenty, and a variety of gratifications which their ſenſes were unaccuſtomed to; and the more fatal, as they had adopted the uſe of our fire-arms. This deſtructive induſtry brought over from the woods of Canada into the ports of France a great quantity and prodigious variety of furs, ſome

of which were conſumed in the kingdom, and the reſt were diſpoſed of in the neighbouring countries. Moſt of theſe furs were already known in Europe; they came from the northern parts of our own hemiſphere, but in too ſmall quantities to bring them into general uſe. Caprice and novelty have brought them more or leſs into faſhion, ſince it has been found to be for the intereſt of the American colonies that they ſhould be admired in the mother countries. It may not be improper to ſay ſomething of thoſe that are ſtill in uſe.

1. The OTTER is a voracious animal, which, as it runs or ſwims along the banks of lakes or rivers, commonly lives upon fiſh; and when that fails, will feed upon graſs, and even the rind of aquatic plants. From his manner of living he has been ranked amongſt amphibious animals, who can equally live in the air and under water; but improperly, ſince the otter cannot live without reſpiration, any more than all other land animals. It is ſometimes found in all thoſe parts which abound in water, and are temperate; but is much more common and larger in the northern parts of America. His hair is no where ſo black or ſo fine; a circumſtance the more fatal to him, as it expoſes him more particularly to the purſuits of man.

2. The POLE-CAT is in great requeſt on the ſame account. There are three ſorts of them: the firſt is the common pole cat; the ſecond is called the mink; and the third the ſtinking pole cat, becauſe his urine, which he lets fly in his fright when he is purſued, is ſo offenſive that it infects the air at a great diſtance. Their hair is darker, more gloſſy, and more ſilky, than in Europe.

3. Even the RAT in North-America is valuable for his ſkin. There are two ſorts chiefly whoſe ſkin makes an article of trade. The one, which is called the *opoſſum*, is twice as large as ours. His hair is commonly of a ſilver grey, ſometimes of a clear white. The female has a bag under her belly, which ſhe can open

open and ſhut at pleaſure: when ſhe is purſued, ſhe puts her young ones into this bag, and runs away with them. The other, which is called the *Muſk-rat*, becauſe his teſticles contain muſk, has all the inclinations of the beaver, of which he ſeems to be a diminutive, and his ſkin is employed for the ſame purpoſes.

4. The ERMINE, which is about the ſize of a ſquirrel, but not quite ſo long, has, like him, ſprightly eyes, a keen look, and his motions are ſo quick that the eye cannot follow them. The tip of his long and buſhy tail is as black as jet. His hair, which is as yellow as gold in ſummer, turns as white as ſnow in winter. This pretty, briſk, and light animal is one of the beauties of Canada; but though ſmaller than the Sable, is not ſo common.

5. The MARTIN is only to be met with in cold countries, in the centre of the foreſts, far from all habitations, and lives upon birds. Though it is but a foot and a half long, it leaves prints on the ſnow, that appear to be thoſe of a very large animal; becauſe it always jumps along, and leaves the mark of both feet together. Its brown and yellow fur is much eſteemed, though far inferior to that ſpecies which is diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Sable*. This is a ſhining black. The fineſt of the others is that whoſe browneſt ſkin reaches along the back quite to the tip of the tail. The Martin ſeldom quit the inmoſt receſſes of their impenetrable woods, but once in two or three years. The natives think it portends a good winter; that is, a great deal of ſnow, and conſequently good ſport.

6. The animal which the ancients called *Lynx*, known in Siberia by the name of the *Ounce*, is only called the WILD CAT in Canada, where it is ſmaller than in our hemiſphere. This animal, to whom vulgar error would not have attributed very piercing eyes, if he were not endowed with the faculty of ſeeing, hearing, and ſmelling, at a diſtance, lives upon what game he can catch, which he purſues to the very tops of the talleſt trees. His fleſh is known to

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be very white and well flavoured; but he is hunted chiefly for the ſake of his ſkin: the hair of which is very long, and of a fine light grey; but leſs eſteemed than that of

7. The Fox. This carniverous and miſchievous animal is a native of the frozen climates, where nature affording few vegetables ſeems to oblige all animals to eat one another. In warmer climates, he has loſt much of his original beauty, and his hair has degenerated. In the north it has remained long, ſoft, and full, ſometimes white, ſometimes brown, and often red or ſandy. The fineſt by far is black; but this is more ſcarce in Canada than in Muſcovy, which lies further north, and is not ſo damp.

8. Beſides theſe ſmaller furs, North-America ſupplies us with ſkins of the *Stag*, the *Deer*, and the *Roe-buck*; of the *Mooze deer*, called there CARIBOU; and of the *Elk*, which they call ORIGNAL. Theſe two laſt kinds, which in our hemiſphere are only found towards the polar circle, the elk on this ſide, and the mooze-deer beyond, are to be met with in America in more ſouthern latitudes. This may be owing to the cold being more intenſe in America, from ſingular cauſes which make an exception to the general law; or, poſſibly, becauſe theſe freſh lands are leſs frequented by deſtructive man. Their ſtrong, ſoft, and warm ſkins make excellent garments, which are very light. All theſe animals, however, are hunted for the Europeans; but the ſavages have the chaſe that belongs to them, and is peculiarly their favourite. It is that of

9. The BEAR; which is beſt adapted to their warlike manners, their ſtrength, and their bravery, and eſpecially to their wants.

In a cold and ſevere climate, the bear is moſt commonly black. As he is rather ſhy than fierce, inſtead of a cavern, he chuſes for his lurking place the hollow rotten trunk of an old tree. There he takes his lodgement in winter, as high as he can climb. As he is very fat at the end of autumn, takes no exer-

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ciſe, and is almoſt always aſleep, he muſt loſe but little by perſpiration, and conſequently muſt ſeldom want to go abroad in queſt of food. But he is forced out of his retreat by ſetting fire to it; and as ſoon as he attempts to come down, he falls under a ſhower of arrows before he can reach the ground. The Indians feed upon his fleſh, rub themſelves with his greaſe, and clothe themſelves with his ſkin. Such was the intent of their purſuit after the bear, when a new intereſt directed their inſtinct towards

10. The BEAVER. This animal poſſeſſes all the friendly diſpoſitions fit for ſociety, without any of the vices or misfortunes attendant upon it. Formed by nature for ſocial life, he is endued with an inſtinct adapted to it for the preſervation and propagation of his ſpecies. This animal, whoſe tender plaintive accents, and whoſe ſtriking example, draw tears of admiration and pity from the humane philoſopher who contemplates his life and manners; this harmleſs animal, which never hurts any living creature, and is neither carnivorous nor ſanguinary; is become the object of man's moſt earneſt purſuit, and the prey which the ſavages hunt after with the greateſt eagreneſs and cruelty: a circumſtance owing to the unmerciful rapaciouſneſs of the moſt poliſhed nations in Europe.

The beaver is about three or four feet long; but his weight amounts to forty or ſixty pounds, which is the conſequence of the largeneſs of his muſcles. His head, which he carries downwards, is like that of a rat; and his back, raiſed in an arch above it, like that of a mouſe. Lucretius has obſerved, not that man has hands given him to make uſe of them; but that he had hands given him, and has made uſe of them. Thus the beaver has webs at his hinder feet, and he ſwims with them. The toes of his fore-feet are ſeparate, and anſwer the purpoſe of hands; the tail, which is flat, oval, and covered with ſcales, he uſes by way of a hoe and trowel; he has four ſharp inciſor-teeth, which ſerve him inſtead of carpenter's tools. All theſe inſtruments, which are in a manner

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uſeleſs whilſt he lives alone, and do not then diſtinguiſh him from other animals, are of infinite ſervice when he lives in ſociety, and enable him to diſplay a degree of ingenuity ſuperior to all inſtinct.

Without paſſions, without a deſire of doing injury to any, and without craft, when he does not live in ſociety; he ſcarcely ventures to defend himſelf. He never bites, unleſs he is catched. But in the ſocial ſtate, in lieu of weapons, he has a variety of contrivances to ſecure himſelf without fighting, and to live without committing or ſuffering any injury. This peaceable and even tame animal is nevertheleſs independent; he is a ſlave to none, becauſe all his wants are ſupplied by himſelf: he enters into ſociety; but will not ſerve, nor does he pretend to command: and all his labours are directed by a ſilent inſtinct.

It is the common want of living and multiplying that calls the beavers home, and collects them together in ſummer to build their towns againſt winter. As early as June or July, they come in from all quarters, and aſſemble to the number of two or three hundred; but always by the water ſide, becauſe theſe republicans are to live on the water to ſecure themſelves from invaſion. Sometimes they give the preference to ſtill lakes in unfrequented diſtricts, becauſe there the waters are always at an equal height. When they find no pools of ſtanding water, they make one in the midſt of rivers or ſtreams; which they do by means of a cauſeway or dam. The mere planning of this contrivance implies ſuch a complication of ideas, as our ſhort-ſighted reaſon would be apt to think above any capacity but that of an intelligent being. The firſt thing to be erected is a pile an hundred feet long, and twelve feet thick at the baſis, which ſhelves away to two or three feet in a ſlope anſwerable to the depth of the waters. To ſave work, or to facilitate their labour, they chuſe the ſhalloweſt part of the river. If they find a large tree by the water-ſide, they fell it in ſuch a manner as it may fall acroſs the ſtream. If it ſhould be

be larger in circumference than a man's body, they ſaw it through, or rather gnaw the foot with their four ſharp teeth. The branches are ſoon lopped off by theſe induſtrious work-men, who want to faſhion it into a beam. A multitude of leſſer trees are felled and cut to pieces for the intended pile. Some drag theſe trees to the river ſide, others ſwim over with them to the place where the cauſeway is to be raiſed. But the queſtion is, how theſe animals are to ſink them in the water with the aſſiſtance only of their teeth, a tail, and feet. The following is the manner in which they contrive it. With their nails they dig a hole in the ground, or at the bottom of the water. With their teeth they reſt the large end of the ſtake againſt the bank of the river, or againſt the great beam that lies acroſs. With their feet they raiſe the ſtake, and ſink it with the ſharp end downwards into the hole, where it ſtands upright. With their tails they make mortar, with which they fill up all the vacancies between the ſtakes, which are bound together with twiſted boughs; and thus the pile is conſtructed. The ſlope of the dam is oppoſite to the current, the better to break the force of the water by a gradual reſiſtance; and the ſtakes are driven in obliquely, in proportion to the inclination of the plane. The ſtakes are planted perpendicularly on the ſide where the water is to fall; and in order to open a drain which may leſſen the action of the ſlope and weight of the cauſeway, they make two or three openings at the top of it, by which part of the waters of the river may run off.

When this work is finiſhed by the whole body of the republic, every member conſiders of a lodging for himſelf. Each company builds a hut in the water upon the pile. Theſe huts are from four to ten feet in diameter, upon an oval or round ſpot. Some are two or three ſtories high, according to the number of families or houſholds. Each hut contains at leaſt two or three, and ſome ten or fifteen. The walls, whether high or low, are about two feet thick,

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and are all arched at the top, and perfectly neat and ſolid both within and without. The outſide is varniſhed with a kind of ſtucco, impenetrable both to the water and to the external air. Every apartment has two openings, one on the land ſide, to enable them to go out and fetch proviſions; the other on that next the ſtream, to facilitate their eſcape at the approach of the enemy, that is, of man, the deſtroyer of cities and commonwealths. The window of the houſe opens to the water. There they take the freſh air in the day time, plunged into the river up to their middle. In winter it ſerves to fence them againſt the ice, which gathers to the thickneſs of two or three feet. The ſhelf, which is to prevent its ſtopping up this window, reſts upon two ſtakes that ſlope in ſuch a manner as may beſt carry off the water from the houſe, and leave an outlet to creep out at, or to go and ſwim under the ice. The inſide of the houſe has no other furniture than a flooring of graſs, covered with the boughs of the fir-tree. No filth of any kind is ever ſeen in theſe apartments.

The materials for theſe buildings are always to be found in their neighbourhood. Theſe are alders, poplars, and other trees delighting in watery places, as theſe republicans do who build their apartments of them. Theſe citizens have the ſatisfaction, at the ſame time that they faſhion the wood, to nouriſh themſelves with it. In imitation of certain ſavages of the frozen ocean, they eat the bark. The ſavages, indeed, do not like it till it is dried, pounded, and properly dreſſed; whereas the beavers chew it and ſuck it when it is quite green. They lay up a proviſion of bark and tender twigs in ſeparate ſtorehouſes for every hut, proportionable to the number of its inhabitants. Every beaver knows his own ſtorehouſe, and not one of them pilfers his neighbour's. Each party lives in its own habitation, and is contented with it, though jealous of the property it has acquired in it by its labour. The proviſions of the community are collected and expended without diſ-

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ſentions. They are ſatisfied with that ſimple food which their labour prepares for them. The only paſſion they have is that of conjugal affection, the baſis and end of which is the reproduction of their ſpecies. Towards the end of winter, the mothers bring forth their young ones, bred in autumn; and whilſt the father ranges all the woods, allured by the ſweets of the ſpring, leaving to his little family the room he took up in his narrow cell, the dam ſuckles and nurſes them, to the number of two or three. Then ſhe takes them out along with her in her excurſions, in ſearch of cray and other fiſh, and green bark, to recruit her own ſtrength and to feed them, till the ſeaſon of labour returns.

This republican, induſtrious, intelligent people, ſkilled in architecture, provident and ſyſtematical in its plans of police and ſociety, is the beaver, whoſe gentle and exemplary manners we have been deſcribing. Happy if his covering did not tempt mercileſs and ſavage man to deſtroy his buildings and his race. Frequently, when the Americans have demoliſhed the ſettlements of the beavers, thoſe indefatigable animals have had the reſolution to build them up again, for ſeveral ſummers ſucceſſively, upon the very ſame ſpot. The winter is the time for attacking them. Experience warns them of their danger. At the approach of the huntſmen, one of them ſtrikes a hard ſtroke with his tail upon the water; this ſignal ſpreads a general alarm throughout all the huts of the commonwealth, and every one tries to ſave himſelf under the ice. But it is very difficult to eſcape all the ſnares that are laid for this harmleſs tribe.

Sometimes the huntſmen lie in wait for them; but as theſe animals ſee and hear at a great diſtance, they can ſeldom be ſhot by the water-ſide, and they never venture ſo far from it as to be caught by ſurpriſe. Should the beaver be wounded before he has got under water, he has always time enough to plunge in; and if he dies afterwards, he is loſt, becauſe he ſinks, and never riſes again.

A more certain way of catching beavers is, by laying traps in the woods, where they eat tender bark of young trees. Theſe traps are baited with freſh ſlips of wood; and as ſoon as the beavers touch them, an enormous weight falls and cruſhes their loins. The man, who is concealed near the place, haſtens to it, ſeizes his prey, and having diſpatched it, carries it off.

Other methods are ſtill more commonly and more ſucceſsfully practiſed. The huts are ſometimes attacked, in order to drive out the inhabitants, and then wait for them at the edges of the holes they have bored in the ice, where they cannot avoid coming to take in freſh air. The moment they appear, they are knocked on the head. At other times the animal, driven out of his lodgement, is entangled in the nets that are ſpread all round, by breaking up the ice for ſome toiſes round his hut. If they want to catch the whole colony at once, inſtead of breaking down the ſluices to drown the inhabitants, as it might be done in Holland, they open the cauſeway, to drain off the water from the pool where the beavers live. When they are thus left dry, defenceleſs, and unable to eſcape, they may be caught at pleaſure and deſtroyed at any time: but care is always taken to leave a ſufficient number of males and females to preſerve the breed; an act of generoſity which in reality proceeds only from avarice. The cruel foreſight of man only ſpares a few in order to have the more to deſtroy. The beaver, whoſe plaintive cry ſeems to implore his clemency and pity, finds in the ſavage, whom the Europeans have made barbarous, only an implacable enemy, who no longer fights ſo much to ſupply his own wants, as to furniſh ſuperfluities to another world.

If we compare the manners, the police, and the induſtry, of the beavers with the wandering life of the ſavages of Canada; we ſhall be inclined to allow, admitting for the ſuperiority of man's faculties above thoſe of animals, that the beaver was much further

advanced

advanced in the arts of ſocial life than his purſuer, when the Europeans firſt brought their talents and improvements to North-America.

The beaver, an older inhabitant of that world than man, and the quiet poſſeſſor of thoſe regions ſo well adapted to his ſpecies, had employed that quiet he had enjoyed for many ages, in the improvement of his faculties. In our hemiſphere, man has ſeized upon the moſt wholeſome and fertile regions, and has driven out or ſubdued all other animals. If the bee and the ant have preſerved their laws and government from the jealous and deſtructive dominion of tyrant man, this has been owing to the ſmallneſs of their ſize. It is thus we ſee ſome republics, having neither ſplendor nor ſtrength, maintain themſelves by their very weakneſs, in the midſt of the vaſt monarchies of Europe, which muſt ſooner or later ſwallow them up. But the ſociable quadrupeds, baniſhed into uninhabited climates unfit for their increaſe, have been unconnected in all places, incapable of uniting into a community, or of improving their natural ſagacity; whilſt man, who has reduced them to that precarious ſtate, exults in their degradation, and prides himſelf in that ſuperior nature and thoſe rational powers which conſtitute a perpetual diſtinction between his ſpecies and all others.

The brutes, we are told, bring nothing to perfection: their operations, therefore, can only be mechanical, and ſuppoſe no principle ſimilar to that which actuates man. Without examining in what particulars perfection conſiſts; whether the moſt civilized being is in reality the moſt perfect; whether what he acquires in the property of things, he does not loſe in the property of his perſon; or, whether all he adds to his enjoyments is not ſo much ſubtracted from his duration; we cannot but confeſs, that the beaver, which in Europe is a wandering, ſolitary, timorous, and ſtupid animal, was in Canada acquainted with civil and domeſtic government, knew how to diſtinguiſh the proper ſeaſons for labour and reſt, was acquainted with ſome rules of architecture,

and with the curious and learned art of conſtructing dikes. Yet he had attained to this degree of improvement with feeble and imperfect tools. He can hardly ſee the work he does with his tail. His teeth, which anſwer the purpoſes of a variety of tools, are circular, and confined by the lips. Man, on the contrary, with hands fit for every purpoſe, hath in this ſingle organ of the touch all the combined powers of ſtrength and dexterity. Is it not to this advantage of organization that he owes the ſuperiority of his ſpecies above all others? It is not becauſe his eyes are turned towards heaven, as thoſe of all birds are, that he is the lord of the creation; it is becauſe he is provided with hands that are ſupple, pliable, induſtrious, formidable, and weapons of defence, and ever ready to aſſiſt him. His hand is his ſceptre: it is with that he marks his dominion over the earth, by deſtroying and ravaging the face of the globe. The ſureſt ſign of the population of mankind is the depopulation of other ſpecies. That of beavers gradually decreaſes and diſappears in Canada, ſince the Europeans have been in requeſt of their ſkins.

Their ſkins vary with the climate, both in colour and kind. In the ſame diſtrict, however, where the colonies of civilized beavers are found, there are ſome that are wild and ſolitary. Theſe animals, who are ſaid to be turned out of ſociety for their ill behaviour, live in a channel under ground, and have neither lodging nor ſtorehouſe. Their coat is dirty, and the hair is worn off of their backs by rubbing againſt the cave which they dig for their habitation. This ſlip, which commonly opens into ſome pond or ditch full of water, ſometimes extends above a hundred feet in length, and ſlopes up gradually to facilitate their eſcape from inundations when the waters riſe. Some of theſe beavers are ſo wild as to fly from all communication with their natural element, and to live entirely on land. In this they agree with our otters in Europe. Theſe wild beavers have not ſuch ſleek hair as thoſe that live in ſocieties; their furs are anſwerable to their manners.

Beavers are found in America from the thirtieth to the ſixtieth degree of north latitude. There are but few towards the ſouth, but they increaſe and grow darker as we advance towards the north. In the country of the Illinois, they are yellow and ſtraw-coloured; higher up, they are of a light cheſnut; to the north of Canada, of a dark cheſnut; and ſome are even found that are quite black, and theſe are reckoned the fineſt. Yet in this climate, the coldeſt that is inhabited by this ſpecies, there are ſome among the black ones that are quite white; others white ſpeckled with grey, and ſometimes with ſandy ſpots on the rump: ſo much does nature delight in ſhewing the gradations of warmth and cold, and their various influences not only on the figure but on the very clothing of animals. The value that men ſet on their lives, depends upon the colour of their ſkins. Some they neglect to that degree, that they will not even kill them; but this is uncommon.

CHAP. IV.

In what places, and in what manner the Fur-trade was carried on.

THE fur-trade was the firſt the Europeans carried on in Canada. It was firſt opened by the French colony at Tadouſac, a port ſituated thirty leagues below Quebec. About the year 1640, the town of Les Trois Rivieres, at the diſtance of twenty-five leagues from the capital, and higher up, became a ſecond mart. In proceſs of time all the fur-trade centered in Montreal. The ſkins were brought thither on canoes made of the bark of trees in the month of June. The number of Indians who reſorted to that place increaſed, as the fame of the French ſpread further. The account of the reception they had met with, the ſight of the things they had received in exchange for their goods, every thing

contributed to increaſe the concourſe. Whenever they returned with a freſh ſupply of furs, they always brought a new nation along with them. Thus a kind of fair was opened, to which the ſeveral tribes of that vaſt continent reſorted.

The Engliſh grew jealous of this branch of wealth; and the colony they had founded at New York ſoon found means to divert the ſtream of this great circulation. As ſoon as they had ſecured a ſubſiſtence, by beſtowing their firſt attention upon agriculture, they began to think of the fur-trade, which was at firſt confined to the country of the Iroquois. The five nations of that name would not ſuffer their lands to be traverſed in order to give an opportunity of treating with other ſavage nations who were at conſtant enmity with them; nor would they allow thoſe nations to come upon their territories to ſhare in competition with them the profits of the trade they had opened with the Europeans. But time having extinguiſhed, or rather ſuſpended, the national hoſtilities between the Indians, the Engliſh ſpread all over the country, and the ſavages flocked to them from all quarters. This nation had infinite advantages for obtaining the preference over their rivals the French. Their navigation was eaſier, and conſequently they could afford to underſell them. They were the only manufacturers of the coarſe cloths that beſt ſuited the ſavages. The beaver-trade was free among them; whereas, among the French, it was, and ever has been, ſubject to the tyranny of monopoly.

At this time the French in Canada indulged themſelves more freely in a cuſtom which at firſt had been confined within narrow bounds. Their inclination for frequenting the woods, which was that of the firſt coloniſts, had been wiſely reſtrained within the limits of the territory belonging to the colony. Permiſſion was, however, granted every year to twenty-five perſons to extend beyond theſe limits, to trade with the Indians. The ſuperiority which New York was

acquiring,

acquiring, was the cauſe of increaſing the number of theſe permiſſions. They were a kind of patent, which the patentees might make uſe of either in perſon or by proxy, and which laſted a year or more. They were ſold; and the produce was diſtributed by the governor of the colony to the officers or their widows and children, to hoſpitals and miſſionaries, to ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſome great action or ſome uſeful undertaking, and ſometimes even to the creatures of the governor who ſold the patents himſelf. The money which he did not give away, or did not chuſe to keep, was put into the public coffers; but he was accountable to none for his adminiſtration.

This cuſtom was attended with fatal conſequences. Many of theſe traders ſettled among the Indians, to defraud their partners whoſe goods they had diſpoſed of. Many more went and ſettled among the Engliſh, where the profits were greater. Several of the French were loſt upon immenſe lakes, frequently agitated with violent ſtorms; among the caſcades, which render navigation ſo dangerous up the broadeſt rivers in the whole world; under the weight of the canoes, the proviſions, and the bales of goods, which they were forced to carry upon their ſhoulders at the *carrying places*, where the rapidity or ſhallowneſs of the water obliged them to quit the rivers, and purſue their journey by land. Numbers periſhed in the ſnow and on the ice, by hunger, or by the ſword of the enemy. Thoſe who returned to the colony with a profit of ſix or ſeven hundred *per cent.* were not always the more uſeful members, as they gave themſelves up to the greateſt exceſſes, and by their example diſguſted others from aſſidious labours. Their fortunes diſappeared as quickly as they had been amaſſed, like thoſe moving mountains which a whirlwind raiſes and deſtroys at once on the ſandy plains of Africa. Moſt of theſe travelling traders, ſpent with the exceſſive fatigues which their avarice prompted them to undergo, and the licentiouſneſs of

a wandering and diſſolute life, dragged on a premature old age in indigence and infamy. The government took notice of theſe irregularities, and put the fur-trade upon a better footing.

France had for a long time been inceſſantly employed in erecting a number of forts, which were thought neceſſary for her preſervation and aggrandizement in North America. Thoſe they had built to the weſt and ſouth of the river St Lawrence, were large and ſtrong, and were intended to confine the ambition of the Engliſh. Thoſe which were conſtructed on the ſeveral lakes in the moſt important poſitions, formed a chain which extended northward to the diſtance of a thouſand leagues from Quebec; but they were only miſerable paliſades, intended to keep the Indians in awe, and to ſecure their alliance and the produce of their chaſe. There was a garriſon in each, more or leſs numerous according to the importance of the poſt and of the enemies who threatened it. It was thought proper to intruſt the commandant of each of theſe forts with the excluſive right of buying and ſelling in the whole diſtrict under his dominion. This privilege was purchaſed; but as it was always productive of profit, and ſometimes of a conſiderable fortune, it was granted to none but ſuch officers as were moſt in favour. If any of theſe had not a ſtock ſufficient for the undertaking, he could eaſily get ſome monied men to join with him. It was pretended, that this ſyſtem, far from being contrary to the benefit of the ſervice, was a means of promoting it; as it obliged the gentlemen of the army to keep up more conſtant connections with the natives, to watch their motions, and to neglect nothing that could ſecure their friendſhip. Nobody foreſaw, or choſe to forſee, that this could not fail of ſtifling every ſentiment but that of ſelf-intereſt, and would be a ſource of perpetual oppreſſion.

This tyranny, which ſoon became univerſal, was ſeverely felt at Frontenac, at Niagara, and at Toronto. The farmers of thoſe three forts, abuſing their

privilege,

privilege, ſet ſo low a value upon the goods that were brought them, and rated their own ſo high, that by degrees the Indians would not ſtop there. They went in vaſt numbers to Chouaguen, on the lake Ontario, where the Engliſh dealt with them upon more advantageous terms. Theſe new connections were repreſented as alarming to the court of France, who found means to weaken them by taking the trade of theſe three poſts into her own hands, and treating the Indians ſtill better than they were treated by the rival nation.

The conſequence was, that the king acquired the ſole poſſeſſion of all the refuſe of the furs; and got the ſkins of all the beaſts that were killed in the ſummer and autumn, the moſt ordinary, the thinneſt, and moſt eaſily ſpoiled, were reſerved for the king. All theſe damaged furs, unfairly bought, and careleſsly heaped up in warehouſes, were eaten up by the moths.

At the proper ſeaſon for ſending them to Quebec, they were put into boats, and left to the diſcretion of ſoldiers, paſſengers, and watermen, who, as they had no concern in thoſe goods, did not take the leaſt care to keep them dry. When they came into the hands of the managers of the colony, they were ſold for half of the little they were worth. Thus the returns were rather leſs than the ſums advanced by the government for this loſing trade.

But though this trade was of no value to the king, it may yet be doubted whether it brought any profit to the Indians, though gold and ſilver were not the dangerous medium of their traffic. They received, indeed, in exchange for their furs, ſaws, knives, hatchets, kettles, fiſh-hooks, needles, thread, ordinary linen, coarſe woollen ſtuffs, the firſt tokens or bands of ſociability. But we ſold them articles likewiſe that would have proved prejudicial to them even as a gift or a preſent, ſuch as guns, powder and ſhot, tobacco, and eſpecially brandy.

This liquor, the moſt fatal preſent the old world ever made to the new, was no ſooner known to the ſava-

ges,

ges, than they grew paſſionately fond of it. It was equally impoſſible for them to abſtain from it, or to uſe it with moderation. It was ſoon obſerved that this liquor diſturbed their domeſtic peace, deprived them of their judgement, made them furious; that it occaſioned huſbands, wives, children, brothers and ſiſters, to abuſe and quarrel with one another. In vain did ſome ſober Frenchmen expoſtulate with them, and endeavour to ſhame them out of theſe exceſſes. "It is you (anſwered they) who have taught us to "drink this liquor; and now we cannot do without "it. If you refuſe to give it to us, we will go and "get it of the Engliſh. It is you have done the miſ-"chief, and it cannot be repaired."

The court of France, upon receiving contradictory information with reſpect to the diſorders occaſioned by this pernicious trade, hath alternately prohibited, tolerated, and authoriſed it, according to the light in which it was repreſented to the miniſtry. In the midſt of theſe variations, the intereſt of the merchants was ſeldom at a ſtand. The ſale of brandy was at all times nearly the ſame. Rational men conſidered it, however, as the principle cauſe of the diminution of the human race, and conſequently of the ſkins of beaſts, which became every day more and more evident.

CHAP. V.

State of CANADA at the peace of UTRECHT.

AT the peace of Utrecht, this vaſt country was in a ſtate of weakneſs and miſery not to be conceived. This was owing to the French who came there firſt, and who rather threw themſelves into this country than ſettled upon it. Moſt of them had done nothing more than run about the woods; the more reaſonable among them had attempted ſome cultures, but without choice or plan. A piece of ground, haſtily

haſtily tilled and built upon, was as haſtily forſaken. However, the expences the government was at, together with the profits of the fur trade, at times afforded the inhabitants a comfortable ſubſiſtence; but a ſeries of unfortunate wars ſoon deprived them of theſe enjoyments. In 1714, the exports from Canada did not exceed 13,125*l.* This ſum, added to 15,312*l.* 10*s.* which the government ſent over every year, was all the colony had to depend upon for the payment of the goods they received from Europe. And indeed theſe were ſo few, that moſt people were reduced to wear ſkins like the Indians. Such was the deplorable ſituation of the far greater part of twenty thouſand French inhabitants, who were ſuppoſed to be in theſe immenſe regions.

CHAP. VI.

Population, agriculture, manners, government, fiſheries, induſtry, and revenues of CANADA.

BUT the happy ſpirit which at that time animated the ſeveral parts of the world, rouſed Canada from the languid ſtate in which it had been ſo long plunged. It appears from the eſtimates taken in 1753 and 1758, which were nearly equal, that the population amounted to 91,000 ſouls, excluſive of the regular troops, whoſe numbers varied according to the different exigencies of the colony.

This calculation did not include the many allies diſperſed throughout an extent of 1200 leagues in length, and of conſiderable breadth; nor yet the 16,000 Indians who dwelt in the centre of the French ſettlements, or in their neighbourhood. None of theſe were ever conſidered as ſubjects, tho' they lived in the midſt of a great European colony: the ſmalleſt clans ſtill preſerved their independence. All men talk of liberty, but the ſavage alone enjoys it.

Not

Not only the whole nation, but every individual, is truly free. The conſciouſneſs of his independence operates upon all his thoughts and actions. He would enter the palace of an Aſiatic monarch juſt as he would come into a peaſant's cottage, and neither be dazzled by his ſplendor nor awed by his power. It is his own ſpecies, it is mankind, it is his equal, that he loves and reſpects; but he would hate a maſter, and deſtroy him.

Part of the French colony was centured in three cities. Quebec, the capital of Canada, is 1500 leagues diſtant from France, and 120 leagues from the ſea. It is built in the form of an amphitheatre, on a peninſula made by the river St Lawrence and the rever St Charles; and commands a proſpect over extenſive fields which ſerve to enrich it, and a very ſafe road that will admit upwards of two hundred ſhips. It is three miles in circumference. Two thirds of this circuit are defended by the water and the rocks, which are a better ſecurity than the fortifications erected on the ramparts that cut the peninſula. The houſes are tolerably well conſtructed. The inhabitants, were computed at about 10,000 ſouls at the beginning of the year 1759. It was the centre of commerce, and the ſeat of government.

The city of the Trois Rivieres, built ten years later than Quebec, and ſituated thirty leagues higher, was raiſed with a view of encouraging the trade with the northern Indians. But this ſettlement, though brilliant at firſt, never attained to more than 1500 inhabitants, becauſe the fur-trade was ſoon diverted from this market, and carried entirely to Montreal.

Montreal is an iſland, ten leagues long and four broad almoſt, formed by the river St Lawrence, ſixty leagues above Quebec. Of all the adjacent country, this is the mildeſt, the moſt pleaſant and the moſt fruitful ſpot. A few ſcattered huts, erected by chance in 1640, advanced to a regular built town, which contained four thouſand inhabitants. At firſt it lay expoſed

to

to the inſults of the ſavages; but was afterwards encloſed with ſlight paliſades, and then with a wall about fifteen feet high, topped with battlements. It fell to decay when the inroads of the Iroquois obliged the French to erect forts higher up the country to ſecure the fur-trade.

The other coloniſts, who were not compriſed within the walls of theſe three cities, did not live in towns, but were ſcattered along the banks of the river St Lawrence. None were to be ſeen near the mouth of that river, where the ſoil is rugged and barren, and where no corn will ripen. The firſt habitations to the ſouth began fifty leagues, and to the north twenty leagues, below Quebec; they were thinly ſcattered, and their produce was but indifferent. The truly fertile fields began only near the capital, and they grew better as one drew nearer to Montreal. Nothing can be more beautiful to the eye than the rich borders of that long and broad canal. Woods ſcattered here and there which decorated the tops of the graſſy mountains, meadows covered with flocks, fields crowned with ripening corn, ſmall ſtreams of water flowing down to the river, churches and caſtles ſeen at intervals through the trees, exhibited a ſucceſſion of the moſt enchanting proſpects. Theſe would have been ſtill more delightful, if the edict of 1745 had been obſerved, which forbade the coloniſt from dividing his plantations, unleſs they were an acre and a half in front, and thirty or forty acres in depth. Indolent heirs would not then have torn in pieces the inheritance of their fathers. They would have been compelled to form new plantations; and vaſt ſpaces of fallow land would no longer have ſeparated rich and cultivated plains.

Nature herſelf directed the labours of the huſbandman, and taught him to avoid watery and ſandy grounds, and all thoſe where the pine, the fir-tree, and the ceder, grew ſolitary; but wherever he found a ſoil covered with maple, oak, beach, horn-beam, and ſmall cherry trees, there he might reaſonably

expect an increaſe of twenty to one in his wheat, and thirty to one in Indian corn, without the trouble of manuring.

All the plantations, though of different extents, were ſufficient for the wants of their reſpective owners. There were few of them did not yield maize, barley, flax, hemp, tobacco, pulſe, and pot herbs, in great plenty, excellent in their kind.

Moſt of the inhabitants had a ſcore of ſheep whoſe wool was very valuable to them, ten or a dozen milch-cows, and five or ſix oxen for the plough. The cattle was ſmall, but their fleſh was excellent, and theſe people lived much better than our country people do in Europe.

With this kind of affluence, they could afford to keep a good number of horſes. They were not fine, indeed; but able to go through a great deal of hard work, and to run a prodigious way upon the ſnow. They were ſo fond of multiplying them in the colony, that in winter-time they would laviſh on them the corn that they themſelves regretted at another ſeaſon.

Such was the ſituation of the 83,000 French diſperſed or collected on the banks of the river St Lawrence. Above the head of the river, and in what is called the Upper Country, there were 8000 more, who were more addicted to hunting and trade than to huſbandry.

Their firſt ſettlement was Catarakui, or fort Frontenac, built in 1671, at the entrance of the lake Ontario, to ſtop the inroads of the Engliſh and Iroquois: The bay of this place ſerved as a harbour for the men of war and trading veſſels belonging to this great lake, which might with more propriety be called a ſea, and where ſtorms are almoſt as frequent and as dreadful as on the ocean.

Between the lakes Ontario and Erie, which both meaſure 300 leagues in circumference, lies a continent of 14 leagues. This land is interſected towards the middle by the famous fall of Niagara, which

from its height, breadth, and ſhape, and from the quantity and impetuoſity of its waters, is juſtly accounted the moſt wonderful cataract in the world. It was above this grand and awful water-fall, that France had erected fortifications, with a deſign to prevent the Indians, from carrying their furs to the rival nation.

Beyond the lake Erie is an extent of land, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Strait, which exceeds all Canada for the mildneſs of the climate, the beauty and variety of the proſpects, the richneſs of the ſoil, and the profuſion of game and fiſh. Nature has laviſhed all her ſweets to enrich this delightful ſpot. But this was not the motive that determined the French to ſettle there in the beginning of the preſent century. It was the vicinity of ſeveral Indian nations who could ſupply them abundantly with furs; and, indeed, this trade increaſed with conſiderable rapidity.

The ſucceſs of this new ſettlement proved fatal to the poſt of Michillimakinach, a hundred leagues further, between the lake Michigan, the lake Huron, and the lake Superior, which are all three navigable. The greateſt part of the trade which uſed to be carried on there with the natives, went over to the Strait; and there it fixed.

Beſides the forts already mentioned, there are ſome of leſſer note, in different parts of the country, conſtructed upon rivers, or at the openings between the mountains. The firſt ſentiment intereſt inſpires is that of miſtruſt, and its firſt impulſe is that of attack or defence. Each of theſe forts was manned with a garriſon, which defended the French who were ſettled in the neighbourhood. All together made up 8000 ſouls, who inhabited the upper country.

The manners of the French coloniſts ſettled in Canada were not always anſwerable to the climate they inhabited. Thoſe that lived in the country ſpent their winter in idleneſs, gravely ſitting by their fire-ſide. When the return of ſpring called them out

to the indiſpenſable labours of the field, they plough-ed the ground ſuperficially without ever manuring it, ſowed it careleſsly, and then ſunk again into their former indolence till harveſt-time. The people were too proud or too lazy to work for hire, ſo that every family was obliged to gather in their own crops; and nothing was to be ſeen of that ſprightly joy, which on a fine ſummer's day enlivens the reapers, whilſt they are gathering in their rich harveſts. Thoſe of the Canadians never went beyond a ſmall parcel of corn of each kind, a little hay and tobacco, a few cyder-apples, cabbages, and onions. This was the whole produce of a plantation in that country.

This amazing negligence might be owing to ſeve-ral cauſes. The exceſſive cold in winter, which froze up the rivers, in a manner locked up and benumbed the faculties of men. They contracted ſuch a habit of idleneſs during the continuance of the ſevere wea-ther for eight months ſucceſſively, that labour appear-ed an intolerable hardſhip even in the fineſt weather. The numerous feſtivals of their religion were another hindrance to their induſtry. Men are ready enough to practiſe that kind of devotion which exempts them from labour. Laſtly, their paſſion for arms, which had been purpoſely encouraged amongſt theſe coura-geous and daring men, made them averſe from the labours of huſbandry. Their minds were ſo entirely abſorbed in military glory, that they were fond of nothing but war, though they engaged in it with-out pay.

The inhabitants of the cities, eſpecially of the capi-tal, lived, both in winter and ſummer, in a conſtant round of diſſipation. They were alike inſenſible to the beauties of nature, and to the pleaſures of imagination; they had no taſte for arts or ſciences, for reading or inſtruction. Their only paſſion was amuſement, and per-ſons of all ages were fond of dancing at aſſemblies. This way of life conſiderably increaſed the influence of the ladies; who were poſſeſſed of every attraction, except thoſe ſoft emotions of the ſoul, which alone

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conſtitute the merit and the charm of beauty. Lively, gay, coquettes, and addicted to gallantry, they were more gratified with inſpiring than feeling the tender paſſion. In both ſexes might be obſerved a greater degree of devotion than virtue, more religion than probity, a higher ſenſe of honour than of real honeſty. Superſtition took place of morality, as it does wherever men are taught to believe that ceremonies will compenſate for good works, and that crimes are expiated by prayers.

Idleneſs, prejudice, and levity, would never have taken ſuch an aſcendant in Canada, had the government been careful to employ the minds of the people upon ſolid and profitable objects. But all the coloniſts were required to pay an implicit obedience to a mere military authority. They were unacquainted with the ſlow and ſure proceſs of the laws. The will of the chief, or of his delegates, was an oracle, which they were not even at liberty to interpret; an awful decree, which they were to ſubmit to without examination. Delays, repreſentations, excuſes of honour, were ſo many crimes in the eyes of a deſpotic ruler, who had uſurped a power of puniſhing or abſolving by his bare word. He held in his own hands all favours and penalties, rewards and puniſhments; the right of impriſoning without the ſhadow of a crime, and the ſtill more formidable right of inforcing a reverence for his decrees as ſo many acts of juſtice, tho' they were but the irregular ſallies of his own caprice.

In early times, this unlimited power was not confined to matters relative to military diſcipline and political adminiſtration, but was extended even to civil juriſdiction. The governor decided arbitrarily and without appeal upon all differences ariſing between the coloniſts. Fortunately theſe conteſts were very rare, in a country where all things were almoſt, as it were, in common. This dangerous authority ſubſiſted till 1663, at which period a tribunal was erected in the capital, for the definitive trial of all cauſes

depending throughout the colony. The cuſtom of Paris, modified ſuitably to local combinations, formed the code of their laws.

This code was not mutilated or disfigured by a mixture of revenue laws. The adminiſtration of the finances in Canada only took up a few fines of alienation; a trifling contribution from the inhabitants of Quebec and Montreal towards keeping up the fortifications; and ſome duties upon all goods imported and exported, which, indeed, were too high. In 1747, all theſe ſeveral articles brought no more than 11,383*l.* 15*s.* into the treaſury.

The lands were not taxed by the government, nor did they enjoy an entire exemption. A great miſtake was made at the firſt ſettling of the colony, in granting to officers and gentlemen a piece of land, from two to four leagues in front, and unlimited in depth. Theſe great proprietors, who were men of moderate fortunes, and unſkilled in agriculture, were unable to manage ſuch vaſt eſtates, and were therefore under a neceſſity of making over their lands to ſoldiers or planters upon condition they ſhould pay them a kind of ground-rent or homage for ever. This was introducing into America ſomething very like the feudal government, which was ſo long fatal to Europe. The lord ceded ninety acres to each of his vaſſals, who on their part engaged to work in his mill, to pay him annually one or two ſols per acre, and a buſhel and a half of corn for the entire grant. This tax, though but a ſmall one, maintained a great number of idle people, at the expence of the only claſs with which a colony ought to have been peopled. The true inhabitants, the laborious men, found the burden of maintaining an annuitant nobility increaſed by the additional exactions of the clergy. In 1667, the tithes were impoſed. They were, indeed, reduced to a twenty-ſixth part of the crops, notwithſtanding the clamours of that rapacious body; but ſtill this was an oppreſſion, in a country where the clergy had a property allotted them, which was ſufficient for their maintenance.

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So many impediments thrown in the way of agriculture, diſabled the colony to pay for the neceſſaries that came from the mother country. The French miniſtry were at laſt ſo fully convinced of this truth, that after having always obſtinately oppoſed the eſtabliſhment of manufactures in America, they thought it their intereſt even to promote them, in 1706. But theſe too tardy encouragements had very little effect; and the united induſtry of the coloniſts could never produce more than a few coarſe linens, and ſome very bad woollen ſtuffs.

The fiſheries were not much more inviting than the manufactures. The only one that could be an object of exportation, was that of the SEAL. This animal has been ranked in the claſs of fiſh, though he is not dumb, is always born on land, and lives more on dry ground than in the water. His head is ſomewhat like that of a maſtiff. He has four paws, which are very ſhort, eſpecially the hinder ones, which ſerve him rather to crawl than to walk upon. They are ſhaped like fins, but the fore-feet have claws. His ſkin is hard, and covered with ſhort hair. He is born white, but turns ſandy or black as he grows up. Sometimes he is of all the three colours.

There are two diſtinct ſorts of ſeals. The larger ſort will ſometimes weigh no leſs than two thouſand weight, and ſeem to have a ſharper ſnout than the others. The ſmall ones, whoſe ſkin is commonly marbled, are briſker, and more dexterous at extricating themſelves out of the ſnares that are laid for them. The Indians have the art of taming them ſo far as to make them follow them.

It is upon the rocks that they couple, and that the dams lay their young, and ſometimes upon the ice. They commonly bear two; and they frequently ſuckle them in the water, but more frequently on land. When they want to teach them to ſwim, it is ſaid they carry them upon their backs, drop them now and then into the water, then take them up again, and proceed in this manner till they are ſtrong enough

enough to ſwim of themſelves. Moſt little birds flutter about from ſpray to ſpray before they venture to fly abroad; the eagle carries her young, to train them up to encounter the boiſterous winds; it is not therefore ſurpriſing, that the ſeal, born on land, ſhould exerciſe her little ones in living under water.

The manner of fiſhing for theſe amphibious animals is very ſimple. Their cuſtom is, when they are out at ſea, to enter into the creeks with the tide. As ſoon as ſome place is diſcovered where they reſort in ſhoals, they ſurround it with nets and ſtakes, only taking care to leave a little opening for them to get in. At high water this opening is ſtopped up, and when the tide is gone down the prey remains on dry ground. There is nothing more to do but to knock them down. Sometimes the fiſhermen get into a canoe, and follow them to their lurking places, where they fire upon them the moment they put their heads out of the water to take in air. If they are only wounded, they are eaſily caught; if they are killed they ſink directly, but are fetched up by great dogs that are trained up to dive for them ſeven or eight fathom under water.

The ſkin of the ſeal was formerly uſed for muffs; but afterwards to cover trunks, and to make ſhoes and boots. When it is well tanned, the grain is not unlike that of morocco leather. If on the one hand it is not quiet ſo fine, on the other it keeps longer.

The fleſh of the ſeal is generally allowed to be good, but it turns to better account if it is boiled down to oil. For this purpoſe, it is ſufficient to ſet it on the fire in a copper or earthen veſſel. Frequently nothing more is done than to ſpread the fat upon large ſquares made of boards, where it melts of itſelf, and the oil runs off through an opening made for that purpoſe. It keeps clear for a long time, has no bad ſmell, and does not gather droſs. It is uſed for burning and for dreſſing of leather.

Five or ſix ſmall ſhips were fitted out yearly from Canada for the ſeal-fiſhery in the gulph of St Law-

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rence, and one or two leſs for the Caribbee iſlands: They received from the iſlands nine or ten veſſels laden with rum, melaſſes, coffee, and ſugar; and from France about thirty ſhips, whoſe lading together might amount to nine thouſand tons.

In the interval between the two laſt wars, which was the moſt flouriſhing period of the colony, the exports did not exceed 525,000 *l.* in furs, 35,000 *l.* in beaver, 10,937 *l.* 10 *s.* in ſeal oil, the ſame in flour and peaſe, and 6562 *l.* 10 *s.* in wood of all kinds. Theſe ſeveral articles put together, amounted but to 115,937 *l.* 10 *s.* a year, a ſum inſufficient to pay for the commodities they drew from the mother country. The government made up the deficiency.

When the French were in poſſeſſion of Canada, they had very little money. The little that was brought in from time to time by the new ſettlers did not ſtay long in the country, becauſe the neceſſities of the colony ſent it away again. This was a great obſtacle to the progreſs of commerce and agriculture. In 1670, the court of Verſailles coined a particular ſort of money for the uſe of all the French ſettlements in America; and ſet a nominal value upon it, a fourth part above the value of the current coin of the mother country. But this expedient was not productive of the advantages that were expected, at leaſt with regard to New France. They therefore contrived to ſubſtitute paper currency to metal, for the payment of the troops and other expences of government. This ſucceeded till the year 713, when they were no longer true to the engagements they had entered into with the adminiſtrators of the colony. The bills of exchange they drew upon the treaſury of the mother country were not honoured, and from that time fell into diſcredit. They were at laſt paid off in 1720, but with the loſs of five-eighths.

This event occaſioned the uſe of money to be reſumed in Canada; but this expedient laſted only two years. The merchants found it troubleſome, chargeable, and hazardous, to ſend money to France, and

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ſo did all the colonies who had any remittances to make; ſo that they were the firſt to ſolicit the re-eſtabliſhment of paper currency. This money conſiſted of cards, on which was ſtamped the arms of France and Navarre; and they were ſigned by the governor, the intendant, and the comptroller. They were of 1 *l.* 1 *s.* 10*s.* 6*d.* 5*s.* 3*d.* 2*s.* 1*d.* halfpenny, and of 1 *s.* 3*d.* 3-fourths, 7*d.* 8-twelfths, 3*d.* 3-fourths value. The value of the whole number that was made out, did not exceed 43,750*l.* When this ſum was not ſufficient for the demands of the public, the deficiency was made up by orders ſigned only by the intendant. This was the firſt grievance; but another and more ſcandalous abuſe was, that their number was unlimited. The ſmalleſt were of 10*d.* halfpenny, and the higheſt of 4*l.* 7*s.* 6*d.* Theſe different papers circulated about the colony, and ſupplied the want of money till the month of October. This was the lateſt ſeaſon for the ſhips to ſail from Canada. Then all this paper-currency was turned into bills of exchange payable in France by the government, which was ſuppoſed to have made uſe of the value. But they were ſo multiplied by the year 1754, that the royal treaſury could no longer anſwer ſuch large demands, and was forced to protract the payment. An unfortunate war, that broke out two years after, ſo increaſed their number, that at laſt they were prohibited. This preſently raiſed the price of all commodities to an immoderate degree; and as on account of the enormous expences of the war, the king was the great conſumer, he alone bore the loſs of the diſcarded paper, and of the dearneſs of the goods. In 1759, the miniſtry were obliged to ſtop payment of the Canada bills, till their origin and their real value could be traced. They amounted to an alarming number.

The annual expences of government for Canada, which in 1729 did not exceed 17,500*l.* and before 1749 never went beyond 74,375*l.* were immenſe after that period. The year 1750 coſt 91,875*l.* the year

year 1751, 118,125*l.* the year 1752, 178,937*l.* 10*s.* the year 1753, 231,875*l.* the year 1754, 194,687*l.* 10*s.* the year 1755, 266,875*l.* the year 1756, 494,375*l.* the year 1757, 842,187*l.* the year 1758, 1,220,625*l.* the year 1759, 1,137,500*l.* the firſt eight months of the year 1760, 590,625*l.* Of theſe prodigious ſums, 3,500,000*l.* were owing at the peace.

This diſhoneſt debt was traced up to its origin, and the enormities that had given riſe to it were inquired into as far as the diſtance of time and place would allow. The greateſt delinquents, who were become ſo in conſequence of the unlimited power and credit given them by the government, were legally condemned to make conſiderable reſtitutions, but ſtill too moderate. The claims of private creditors were all diſcuſſed. Fortunately for them and for the nation, the miniſtry intruſted with this important and neceſſary buſineſs, were none but men of known integrity, who were not to be intimidated by the threats of power, nor bribed by the offers of fortune; who could not be impoſed upon by artifice, or wearied out by difficulties. By ſteadily and impartially holding an even balance between the intereſt of the public and the rights of individuals, they reduced the ſum total of the debts to 1,662,000*l.*

CHAP. VII.

Advantages which FRANCE might have derived from CANADA. Errors which have deprived her of them.

IT was the fault of France if Canada was not worth the immenſe ſums that were beſtowed upon it. It had long ſince appeared, that this vaſt region was every where capable of yielding prodigious crops; yet no more was cultivated than what was barely ſufficient for the ſuſtenance of the inhabitants.

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With moderate labour they might have raiſed corn enough to ſupply all the American iſlands, and even ſome parts of Europe. It is well known, that in 1751 the colony ſent over two ſhip-loads of wheat to Marſeilles, which proved very good, and ſold very well. This exportation ought to have been encouraged the more as the crops are liable to few accidents in that country, where the corn is ſown in May, and gathered in before the end of Auguſt.

If huſbandry had been encouraged and extended, the breed of cattle would have been increaſed. They have ſo much paſture ground, and ſuch plenty of acorns, that the colonies might eaſily have bred oxen and hogs, ſufficient to ſupply the French iſlands with beef and pork, without having recourſe to Iriſh beef. Poſſibly, they might in time have increaſed ſo much as to be able to victual the ſhips of the mother country.

Their ſheep would have been no leſs advantageous to France. They were eaſily bred in Canada, where the dams commonly bear twins: and if they did not multiply faſter, it was becauſe the ewes were left with the ram at all ſeaſons; becauſe, as they moſtly brought forth in February, the ſeverity of the weather deſtroyed a great many lambs; and becauſe they were obliged to feed them with corn, and the inhabitants found this ſo chargeable, that they did not much care to rear them. All this might have been prevented by a law, enjoining all farmers to part the ram from the ewes from September to February. The lambs dropped in May would have been reared without any expence or hazard, and in a ſhort time the colony would have been covered with numerous flocks. Their wool, which is known to be very fine and good, would have ſupplied the manufactures of France, inſtead of that which they import from Andaluſia and Caſtile. The ſtate would have been enriched by this valuable commodity; and, in return, the colony would have received a thouſand new and deſirable articles from the mother country.

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The Gin-ſeng would have been a great acquiſition to both. This plant, which the Chineſe procure from the Corea, or from Tartary, and which they buy at the weight of gold, was found in 1720, by the Jeſuit Laſitau, in the foreſts of Canada, where it grows very common. It was ſoon carried to Canton, where it was much eſteemed, and ſold at an extravagant price. The Gin-ſeng, which at firſt ſold at Quebec for about 1 *s.* 6 *d.* a-pound, immediately roſe to 1 *l.* 1 *s.* 10 *d.* halfpenny. In 1752, the Canadians exported this plant to the value of 21,875 *l.* There was ſuch a demand for it, that they were induced to gather in May what ought not to have been gathered till September, and to dry in the oven what ſhould have been dried gradually in a ſhade. This ſpoilt the ſale of the Gin-ſeng of Canada in the only country in the world where it could find a market; and the coloniſts were ſeverely puniſhed for their exceſſive rapaciouſneſs, by the total loſs of a branch of commerce, which, if rightly managed, might have proved a ſource of opulence.

Another and a ſurer ſource for the encouragement of induſtry, was the working of the iron mines which abound in thoſe parts. The only one that has ever attracted the notice of the Europeans, lies near the town of the Trois Rivieres. It was diſcovered near the ſurface of the ground; there are no mines that yield more, and the beſt in Spain are not ſuperior to it for the pliability of the metal. A ſmith from Europe, who came thither in 1739, greatly improved the working of this mine, which till then had been but unſkilfully managed. From that time no other iron was uſed in the colony. They even exported ſome ſamples; but France would not be convinced that this iron was the beſt for fire-arms. The deſign of uſing this iron would have been very favourable to the project which, after much irreſolution, had at laſt been adopted, of forming a marine eſtabliſhment in Canada.

The firſt Europeans who landed on that vaſt region, found it all over covered with foreſts. The

principal trees were oaks of prodigious height, and pines of all ſizes. Theſe woods could have been conveyed with eaſe down the river St Lawrence, and the numberleſs rivers that diſcharge into it. By an unaccountable fatality, all theſe treaſures were overlooked or deſpiſed. At laſt the court of Verſailles thought proper to attend to them. They gave orders for erecting docks at Quebec for building men of war; but unfortunately truſted the buſineſs to agents, who had nothing in view but their own private intereſt.

The timber ſhould have been felled upon the hills, where the cold air hardens the wood by contracting its fibres; whereas it was conſtantly fetched from marſhy grounds, and from the banks of the rivers, where the moiſture gives it a looſer texture, and makes it too rich. Inſtead of conveying it in barges, they floated it down on rafts to the place of its deſtination; where being forgotten and left in the water, it gathered a kind of moſs that rotted it. It ought to have been put under ſheds when it was landed; but it was left expoſed to the ſun in ſummer, to the ſnow in winter, and to the rains in ſpring and autumn. From thence it was conveyed into the dock-yards, where it again ſuſtained the inclemency of the ſeaſons for two or three years. Negligence or diſhoneſty enhanced the price of every thing to ſuch a degree, that they got their ſails, ropes, pitch, and tar, from Europe, in a country, which, with a little induſtry, might have ſupplied the whole kingdom of France with all theſe materials. This bad management had totally brought the wood of Canada into diſrepute, and effectually ruined the reſources which that country afforded for the navy.

This colony furniſhed the manufactures of the mother country with a branch of induſtry that might almoſt be called an excluſive one, which was the preparation of the beaver. This commodity at firſt was ſubjected to the burden and reſtraints of monopoly. The India company could not but make an

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ill uſe of their privilege, and really did ſo. What they bought of the Indians was chiefly paid for in Engliſh ſcarlet cloths, which thoſe people were very fond of appearing in. But as they could make twenty-five or thirty *per cent.* more of their commodities in the Engliſh ſettlements than the company choſe to give, they carried thither all they could conceal from the ſearch of the company's agents, and exchanged their beaver for Engliſh cloth and India calico. Thus did France, by the abuſe of an inſtitution which ſhe was by no means obliged to maintain, loſe the double advantage of furniſhing materials to ſome of her own manufactures, and of ſecuring a market for the produce of ſome others. She was equally ignorant with regard to the facility of eſtabliſhing a whale-fiſhery in Canada.

The chief ſources of this fiſhery are Davis's ſtraits and Greenland. Fifty ſhips come every year into the former of theſe latitudes, and a hundred and fifty into the latter. The Dutch are concerned for more than three fourths of them. The reſt are fitted out from Bremen, Hamburgh, and Britain. It is computed that the whole expence of fitting out 200 ſhips, of 350 tons burden upon an average, muſt amount to 437,500 *l.* The uſual produce of each is rated at 3,500 *l.* and conſequently the whole amount of the fiſhery cannot be leſs than 140,000 *l.* If we deduct from this the profits of the ſeamen who devote themſelves to this hard and dangerous voyage, very little remains for the merchants concerned in this trade.

This is what firſt gradually diſguſted the Biſcayans, who were the firſt adventurers in the undertaking. They have not been ſucceeded by other Frenchmen, inſomuch that the whole fiſhery has been totally thrown up by that nation, which of all others made the greateſt conſumption of blubber, whalebone, and ſpermaceti. Many propoſals have been made for reſuming it in Canada. There was the fineſt proſpect of a plentiful fiſhery in the river St Lawrence, attended with leſs danger and leſs expence than at Davis's ſtraits or Greenland. It has ever

been the fate of this colony, that the beſt ſchemes relative to it have not been brought to bear; and this in particular of a whale-fiſhery, which would have ſingularly rouzed the activity of the coloniſts, and would have proved an excellent nurſery for ſeamen, has never met with the countenance of the government.

The ſame remiſſneſs has baffled the ſcheme, ſo often planned, and two or three times attempted, of fiſhing for cod on both ſides of the river St Lawrence. Very poſſibly the ſucceſs would not have fully anſwered their expectation, becauſe the fiſh is but indifferent, and proper beaches are wanting to dry it. But the gulph would have made ample amends. It abounds with cod, which might have been carried to Newfoundland or Louiſbourg, and advantageouſly bartered for productions of the Carribbee iſlands and European commodities. Every thing conſpired to promote the proſperity of the ſettlements in Canada, if they had been ſeconded by the men who ſeemed to be the moſt intereſted in them. But whence could proceed that inconceivable inaction, which ſuffered them to languiſh in the ſame low condition they were in at firſt?

It muſt be confeſſed, ſome obſtacles aroſe from the very nature of the climate. The river St Lawrence is frozen up for ſix months in the year. At other times it is not navigable by night, on account of the thick fogs, rapid currents, ſand-banks, and concealed rocks, which make it even dangerous by day-light. Theſe difficulties increaſe from Quebec to Montreal, to ſuch a degree, that ſailing is quite impracticable, and rowing ſo difficult, that from the Trois Rivieres, where the tide ends, the oars cannot reſiſt the violence of the current, without the aſſiſtance of a very fair wind, and then only in the ſpace of a month or ſix weeks. From Montreal to the Lake Ontario, travellers meet with no leſs than ſix water-falls, which oblige them to unload their canoes, and to carry them and their lading a conſiderable way by land.

Far from encouraging man to get the better of nature, a miſinformed government planned none but ruinous ſchemes. To gain the advantage over the Engliſh in the fur-trade, they erected three and thirty forts, at a great diſtance from each other. The building and victualling of them diverted the Canadians from the only labours that ought to have engroſſed their attention. This error engaged them in an arduous and perilous track.

It was not without ſome uneaſineſs that the Indians ſaw the beginnings of theſe ſettlements, which might endanger their liberty. Their ſuſpicions induced them to take up arms, ſo that the colony was ſeldom free from war. Neceſſity made all the Canadians ſoldiers. Their manly and military education made them hardy, and fearleſs of danger. Juſt emerging from childhood, they would traverſe a vaſt continent in the ſummer time in canoes, and in winter on foot through ice and ſnow. As they had nothing but their gun to procure ſubſiſtence with, they were in continual danger of ſtarving; but they were under no apprehenſions of fear, not even of falling into the hands of the ſavages, who had exerted all the efforts of their imagination in inventing tortures for their enemies, far worſe than death.

The ſedentary arts of peace, and the ſteady labours of agriculture, had no attraction for men accuſtomed to an active but wandering life. The court, which forms no idea of the ſweets or the utility of rural life, increaſed the averſion which the Canadians had conceived for it, by beſtowing all their favours and honours upon military actions alone. The diſtinction that was moſtly laviſhed was that of nobility, which was attended with the moſt fatal conſequences. It not only plunged the Canadians in idleneſs, but alſo inſpired them with an unſurmountable turn for every thing that was ſplendid. Profits, which ought to have been kept ſacred for the improvement of the lands, were laid out in ornament, and a real property was concealed under the trappings of deſtructive luxury.

CHAP. VIII.

Origin of the wars between the BRITISH and the FRENCH in CANADA.

SUCH was the ſtate of the colony in 1747, when La Galiſſoniere was appointed governor. He was an able, reſolute, and active man; a man of great ſteadineſs, becauſe he acted upon ſound principles. The Britiſh wanted to extend the limits of Nova Scotia, or Acadia, as far as the ſouth ſide of the river St Lawrence. He thought this an unjuſt claim, and was determined to confine them within the peninſula, which he apprehended to be the limits ſettled by treaty. Their ambition of encroaching on the inland parts, particularly towards the Ohio or Fair River, he likewiſe thought unreaſonable. He was of opinion, that the Apalachian mountains ought to be the boundary of their poſſeſſions, and was fully determined they ſhould not paſs them. His ſucceſſor, who was appointed whilſt he was collecting the means of accompliſhing this vaſt deſign, entered into his views with all the warmth they deſerved. Numbers of forts were immediately erected on all ſides, to ſupport the ſyſtem which the court had adopted, perhaps, without foreſeeing, or perhaps without ſufficiently attending to, the conſequences.

At this period began thoſe hoſtilities between the Britiſh and the French in North America, which were rather countenanced than openly avowed by the reſpective mother countries. This clandeſtine mode of carrying on the war was perfectly agreeable to the miniſtry at Verſailles, as it afforded an opportunity of recovering by degrees, and without expoſing their weakneſs, what they had loſt by treaties, at a time when the enemy had impoſed their own terms. Theſe repeated checks at laſt opened the

eyes

eyes of Great Britain, and diſcloſed the political ſyſtem of her rival. George II. thought an equivocal ſituation was inconſiſtent with the ſuperiority of his maritime forces. His flag was ordered to inſult the French flag on every ſea. The Engliſh accordingly took or diſperſed all the French ſhips they met with, and in 1758 ſteered towards Cape Breton.

CHAP. IX

Conqueſt of CAPE BRETON by the BRITISH.

THIS iſland, the key of Canada, already had been attacked in 1745; and the event is of ſo ſingular a nature, that it deſerves a particular detail. The plan of this firſt invaſion was laid at Boſton, and New England bore the expence of it. A merchant, named Pepperel, who had ſtirred up, encouraged, and directed the enthuſiaſm of the colony, was intruſted with the command of an army of 6000 men, who had been levied for this expedition.

Though theſe forces, convoyed by a ſquadron from Jamaica, brought the firſt news to Cape Breton of the danger that threatened them; though the advantage of a ſurprize would have ſecured their landing without oppoſition; though they had but 600 regular troops to encounter, and 800 inhabitants haſtily armed; the ſucceſs of the undertaking was ſtill precarious. What great exploits, indeed, could be expected from a raw militia, haſtily aſſembled, who had never ſeen a ſiege or faced an enemy, and were to act under the guidance of ſea-officers only. Theſe unexperienced troops ſtood in need of the aſſiſtance of ſome fortunate incident, which they were indeed favoured with in a ſingular manner.

The conſtruction and repairs of the fortifications had at all times been left to the management of the garriſon of Louiſbourg. The ſoldiers were eager of being

being employed in theſe works, which they conſidered as conducive to their ſafety, and as a means of procuring a comfortable ſubſiſtence. When they found that thoſe who were to have paid them appropriated the fruit of their labours to their own uſe, they demanded juſtice. It was denied them, and they determined to maintain their right. As theſe depredations had been ſhared between the chief perſons of the colony and the ſubaltern officers, the ſoldiers could obtain no redreſs. Their indignation againſt theſe rapacious extortioners roſe to ſuch a height, that they deſpiſed all authority. They had lived in open rebellion for ſix months paſt, when the Engliſh appeared before the place.

This was the time to conciliate the minds of both parties, and to unite in the common cauſe. The ſoldiers made the firſt advances; but their commanders miſtruſted a generoſity of which they themſelves were incapable. If theſe mean oppreſſors could have conceived it poſſible that the ſoldiery could have entertained ſuch elevated notions as to ſacrifice their own reſentment to the good of their country, they would have taken advantage of this diſpoſition, and have fallen upon the enemy whilſt they were forming their camp and beginning to open their trenches. Beſiegers, unacquainted with any military principle, would have been diſconcerted by regular and vigorous attacks. The firſt checks might have been ſufficient to diſcourage them, and to make them relinquiſh the undertaking. But it was firmly believed, that the ſoldiers were deſirous of ſallying out, only that they might have an opportunity of deſerting; and their own officers kept them in a manner priſoners, till a defence ſo ill managed had reduced them to the neceſſity of capitulating. The whole iſland ſhared the fate of Louiſbourg, its only bulwark.

This valuable poſſeſſion reſtored to France by the treaty of Aix la Chapelle, was again attacked by the Engliſh in 1758. On the 2d of June, a fleet of twenty-three ſhips of the line and eighteen frigates,

carrying

carrying 16,000 veterans, anchored in Gabarus bay, within half a league of Louiſbourg. As it was evident that it would be to no purpoſe to land at a greater diſtance, becauſe it would be impoſſible to bring up the artillery and other neceſſaries for a ſiege, they had bent their whole attention to make the landing impracticable near the town. In the wiſe precautions that had been taken, the beſiegers ſaw the dangers and difficulties they had to expect, and were not deterred by them, but had recourſe to ſtratagem; and while, by extending their line, they threatened and covered the whole coaſt, they landed by force of arms at the creek of Cormoran.

This place was weak by nature. The French had fortified it with a good parapet planted with cannon. Behind this rampart, they had poſted 2000 excellent ſoldiers, and ſome Indians. In front, they had made ſuch a cloſe hedge with branches of trees, as would have been very difficult to penetrate, even if it had not been defended. This kind of paliſade, which concealed all the preparations for defence, appeared at a diſtance to be nothing more than a verdant plain.

This would have preſerved the colony, had the aſſailiants been ſuffered to complete their landing, and to advance with confidence as having but few obſtacles to ſurmount. Then, overpowered at once by the fire of the artillery and the ſmall arms, they would infallibly have periſhed on the ſhore, or in the hurry of embarking; the more, as the ſea was juſt then very rough. This unexpected loſs might have defeated the whole project.

But all the precautions of prudence were rendered abortive by the impetuoſity of the French. The Britiſh had ſcarce begun to move towards the ſhore, when their enemies haſtened to diſcover the ſnare that was laid for them. By the briſk and haſty fire that was aimed at their boats, and ſtill more by the premature removal of the boughs that maſked the forces,

forces, which it was ſo much the intereſt of the French to conceal, they gueſſed at the danger they were going to ruſh into. They immediately turned back, and ſaw no other place to effect their landing but a rock, which had been always deemed inacceſſible. General Wolf, though much taken up in reimbarking his troops, and ſending off the boats, beckoned to Major Scot to repair thither.

This officer immediately removed to the ſpot with his men. His own boat coming up firſt, and having ſunk at the very inſtant he was ſtepping out, he climbed up the rock alone. He was in hopes of meeting with a hundred of his men who had been ſent thither ſome hours before. He found only ten. With theſe few, however, he gained the ſummit of the rock. Ten Indians and ſixty Frenchmen killed two of his men, and mortally wounded three. In ſpite of his weakneſs, he ſtood his ground under cover of a thicket, till his brave countrymen, regardleſs of the boiſterous waves and fire of the cannon, came up to him, and put him in full poſſeſſion of that important poſt, the only one that could ſecure their landing.

The French, as ſoon as they ſaw that the enemy had got a firm footing on land, betook themſelves to the only remaining refuge, and ſhut themſelves up in Louiſbourg. The fortifications were in a bad condition, becauſe the ſea-ſand, which they had been obliged to uſe, is by no means fit for works of maſonry. The revetments of the ſeveral curtains were entirely crumbled away. There was only one caſemate and a ſmall magazine that were bomb proof. The garriſon which was to defend the place conſiſted only of 2,900 men.

Notwithſtanding all theſe diſadvantages, the beſieged were determined to make an obſtinate reſiſtance. While they were employed in defending themſelves with ſo much firmneſs, the ſuccours they expected from Canada might poſſibly arrive. At all events, this was a means of preſerving that great colony from

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all further invaſion for the remainder of the campaign. It is ſcarce credible that this degree of reſolution was ſupported by the courage of a woman. Madam de Drucourt was continually upon the ramparts, with her purſe in her hand; and firing, herſelf, three guns every day, ſeemed to diſpute with the governor her huſband the glory of his office. The beſieged were not diſmayed at the ill ſucceſs of their ſeveral ſallies, or the maſterly operations concerted by Admiral Boſcawen and General Amherſt. It was but at the eve of an aſſault, which it was impoſſible to ſuſtain, that they talked of ſurrendering. They made an honourable capitulation; and the conqueror ſhewed more reſpect for his enemy and for himſelf, than to ſully his glory by an act of barbarity or avarice.

CHAP. X.

The BRITISH attack CANADA.

THE conqueſt of Cape Breton opened the way into Canada. The very next year the ſeat of war was moved thither, or rather the ſcenes of bloodſhed which had long been acted over that immenſe country were multiplied. The cauſe of theſe proceedings was this:

The French, ſettled in thoſe parts, had carried their ambitious views towards the north, where the fineſt furs were to be had, and in the greateſt plenty.

When this vein of wealth was exhauſted, or yielded leſs than it did at firſt, their trade turned ſouthward, where they diſcovered the Ohio, to which they gave the name of the Fair River. It laid open the natural communication between Canada and Louiſiana. For though the ſhips that ſail up the river St Lawrence go no further than Quebec, the navigation is carried on in barges up to lake Ontario, which is parted from lake Erie by a neck of land, where the

French

French very early built Fort Niagara. It is on this ſpot, in the neighbourhood of lake Erie, that the ſource of the river Ohio is found, which waters the fineſt country in the world, and, increaſing by the many rivers that fall into it, conveys its waters into the Miſſiſippi.

Yet the French made no uſe of this magnificent canal. The trifling intercourſe that ſubſiſted between the two colonies was always carried on by the northern regions. The new way, which was much ſhorter and eaſier than the old, firſt began to be frequented by a body of troops that were ſent over to Canada in 1739, to aſſiſt the colony of Louiſiana, which was in open war with the Indians. After this expedition, the ſouthern road was again forgotten, and was never thought of till the year 1753. At that period ſeveral ſmall forts were erected along the Ohio, the courſe of which had been traced for four years paſt. The moſt conſiderable of theſe forts took its name from governor Duqueſne, who had built it.

The Britiſh colonies could not ſee without concern French ſettlements raiſed behind them, which joined with the old ones, and ſeemed to ſurround them. They were apprehenſive leſt the Apalachian mountains, which were to form the natural boundaries between both nations, ſhould not prove a ſufficient barrier againſt the attempts of a reſtleſs and warlike neighbour. Prompted by this miſtruſt, they themſelves paſſed theſe famous mountains, to diſpute the poſſeſſion of the Ohio with the rival nation. This firſt ſtep proved unſucceſsful. The ſeveral parties that were ſucceſſively ſent out were routed; and the forts were pulled down as faſt as they built them.

To put an end to theſe national affronts, and revenge the diſgrace they reflected on the mother country, a large body of troops was ſent over under the command of General Braddock. In the ſummer of 1755, as this General was proceeding to attack fort Duqueſne with 36 pieces of cannon and 600 men, he was ſurpriſed within four leagues of the place by 250 Frenchmen and 650 Indians, and all his army

was

was cut to pieces. This unaccountable miſchance put a ſtop to the march of three numerous bodies that were advancing to fall upon Canada. The terror occaſioned by this accident made them haſten back to their quarters, and in the next campaign all their motions were guided by the moſt timorous caution.

The French were emboldened by this perplexity; and, though very much inferior to them, ventured to appear before Oſwego in Auguſt 1756. It was originally a fortified magazine at the mouth of the river Onondago on the lake Ontario. It ſtood nearly in the centre of Canada, in ſo advantageous a ſituation, that many works had from time to time been erected there, which had rendered it one of the capital poſts in thoſe parts. It was guarded by 1800 men, with 121 pieces of cannon, and great plenty of ſtores of all kinds. Though ſo well ſupported, it ſurrendered in a few days to the briſk and bold attacks of 3000 men who were laying ſiege to it.

In Auguſt 1757, 5500 French and 1800 Indians marched up to Fort George, ſituated on lake Sacrament, which was juſtly conſidered as the bulwark of the Engliſh ſettlements, and the rendezvous of all the forces deſtined againſt Canada. Nature and art had conſpired to block up the roads leading to that place, and to make all acceſs impracticable. Theſe advantages were further ſupported by ſeveral bodies of troops placed at proper diſtances in the beſt poſitions. Yet theſe obſtacles were ſurmounted with ſuch prudence and intrepidity, as would have been memorable in hiſtory, had the ſcene of action lain in a more known ſpot. The French, after killing or diſperſing all the ſmall parties they met with, arrived before the place, and forced the garriſon, conſiſting of 2264 men, to capitulate.

This freſh diſaſter rouſed the Britiſh. Their generals applied themſelves during the winter ſeaſon to the training up of their men, and bringing the ſeveral troops under a proper diſcipline. They made them ex-

 erciſe

ercise in the woods, in fighting after the Indian manner. In the spring, the army, consisting of 6300 regulars and 13000 militia belonging to the colonies, assembled on the ruins of Fort George. They embarked on lake Sacrament, which parted the colonies of both nations; and marched up to Carrillon, distant but four leagues.

That fort, which had been but lately erected on the breaking out of the war, was not extensive enough to withstand the forces that were marching against it. They therefore quickly formed entrenchments under the cannon of the fort, with stems of trees heaped up one upon another; and in front they laid large trees, and the branches being cut and sharpened answered the purpose of chevaux de frise. The colours were planted on the top of ramparts, behind which lay 3500 men.

The English were not dismayed at these formidable appearances, being fully determined to remove the disgrace of their former miscarriages in a country where the prosperity of their trade depended on the success of their arms. On the 8th of July 1758, they rushed upon these palisades with the wildest fury. In vain did the French fire upon them from the top of the parapet, whilst they were unable to defend themselves. They fell upon the sharp spikes, and were entangled among the stumps and boughs through which their eagerness had made them rush. All these losses served but to increase their furious violence. It continued for upwards of four hours, and cost them above 4000 of their brave men before they would give up this rash and desperate undertaking.

They were equally unsuccessful in lesser actions. They did not insult one post without meeting with a repulse. Every party they sent out was beaten, and every convoy intercepted. The depth of winter, which ought to have been their protection, was the very season in which the Indians and Canadians carried fire and sword to the frontiers and into the very heart of the English colonies.

All

All theſe diſaſters were owing to a falſe principle of government. The Britiſh miniſtry had always entertained a notion that the ſuperiority of their navy was alone ſufficient to aſſert their dominion in America, as it afforded a ready conveyance for ſuccours, and could eaſily intercept the enemy's forces.

Though experience had ſhewn the fallacy of theſe notions, the miniſtry did not even endeavour to diminiſh the ill effects of them by the choice of their generals. Almoſt all thoſe who were employed in this ſervice were deficient in point of abilities and activity.

The armies were not ſuch as would make amends for the defects of their commanders. The troops indeed were not wanting in that daring ſpirit and invincible courage which is the characteriſtic of the Britiſh ſoldiers, ariſing from the climate, and ſtill more from the nature of their government; but theſe national qualities were counterbalanced or extinguiſhed by the hardſhips they underwent, in a country deſtitute of all the conveniences that Europe affords. As to the militia of the colonies, it was made up of peaceable huſbandmen, who were not inured to ſlaughter, like moſt of the French coloniſts, by a habit of hunting and by military ardor.

To theſe diſadvantages, ariſing from the nature of things, were added others altogether owing to miſconduct. The poſts erected for the ſafety of the ſeveral Engliſh ſettlements, were not ſo contrived as to ſupport and aſſiſt each other. The provinces having all ſeparate intereſts, and not being united under the authority of one head, did not concur in thoſe joint efforts for the good of the whole, and that unanimity of ſentiments which alone can inſure the ſucceſs of their meaſures. The ſeaſon of action was waſted in vain altercations between the governors and the coloniſts. Every plan of operation that met with oppoſition from any aſſembly was dropped. If any one was agreed upon, it was certainly made public before the execution; and by thus divulging

it, they made it miſcarry. Laſtly, they were in irreconcileable enmity with the Indians.

Theſe nations had always ſhewn a viſible partiality for the French, in return for the kindneſs they had ſhewn them in ſending miſſionaries, whom they conſidered rather as ambaſſadors from the prince than as ſent from God. Theſe miſſionaries, by ſtudying the language of the ſavages, conforming to their temper and inclinations, and putting in practice every attention to gain their confidence, had acquired an abſolute dominion over their minds. The French coloniſts, far from communicating the European manners, had adopted thoſe of the country they lived in; their indolence in time of peace, their activity in war, and their conſtant fondneſs for a wandering life.

Their ſtrong attachment to the French was productive of the moſt inveterate hatred againſt the Engliſh. In their opinion, of all the European ſavages theſe were the hardeſt to tame. Their averſion ſoon roſe to madneſs; and to a thirſt for Engliſh blood, when they found that a reward was offered for their deſtruction, and that they were to be turned out of their native land by foreign aſſaſſins. The ſame hands which had enriched the Engliſh colony with their furs, now took up the hatchet to deſtroy it. The Indians purſued the Engliſh with as much eagerneſs as they did the wild beaſts. Glory was no longer their aim in battle, their only object was ſlaughter. They deſtroyed armies which the French wiſhed only to ſubdue. Their fury roſe to ſuch a height, that an Engliſh priſoner having been conducted into a lonely habitation, the woman immediately cut off his arm, and made her family drink the blood that ran from it. A miſſionary Jeſuit reproaching her with the atrociouſneſs of the action, ſhe anſwered him, *My children muſt be warriors, and therefore they muſt be fed with the blood of their enemies.*

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Taking of QUEBEC by the BRITISH.

SUCH was the ſtate of things, when an Engliſh fleet entered the river St Lawrence in June 1759. No ſooner was it anchored at the iſle of Orleans, than eight fire-ſhips were ſent off to conſume it. Had they executed their orders, not a ſhip or a man would have eſcaped; but the captains who conducted the operation were ſeized with a panic. They ſet fire to their veſſels too ſoon, and hurried back to land in their boats. The aſſailants had ſeen their danger at a diſtance, but were delivered from it by this accident, and from that moment the conqueſt of Canada was almoſt certain.

The Britiſh flag ſoon appeared before Quebec. The buſineſs was to land there, and to get a firm footing in the neighbourhood of the town in order to lay ſiege to it. But they found the banks of the river ſo well intrenched, and ſo well defended by troops and redoubts, that their firſt attempts were fruitleſs. Every landing coſt them torrents of blood, without gaining any ground. They had perſiſted for ſix weeks in theſe unſucceſsful endeavours, when at laſt they had the ſingular good fortune to land unperceived. It was on the 12th of September, an hour before break of day, three miles above the town. Their army, conſiſting of 6000 men, was already drawn up in order of battle, when it was attacked the next day by a corps that was weaker by one third. For ſome time ardour ſupplied the want of numbers. At laſt, French vivacity gave up the victory to the enemy, who had loſt the intrepid Wolfe their general, but did not loſe their confidence and reſolution.

This was gaining a conſiderable advantage, but it might not have been deciſive. Twelve hours would have been ſufficient to collect the troops that

were poſted within a few leagues of the field of battle, to join the vanquiſhed army, and march up to the conqueror with a force ſuperior to the former. This was the opinion of the French general Montcalm, who, being mortally wounded in the retreat, had time enough, before he expired, to think of the ſafety of his men, and to encourage them to repair their diſaſter. This generous motion was over-ruled by the council of war. They removed ten leagues off. The Chevalier de Levy, who had haſtened from his poſt to replace Montcalm, blamed this inſtance of cowardice. They were aſhamed of it, and wanted to recall it, and make another attempt for victory; but it was too late. Quebec, three parts deſtroyed by the firing from the ſhips, had capitulated on the 17th.

All Europe thought the taking of this place had put an end to the great conteſt of North America. They never imagined that a handful of Frenchmen, in want of every thing, who ſeemed to be in a deſperate condition, would dare to think of protracting their inevitable fate. They did not know what theſe people were capable of doing. They haſtily completed ſome intrenchments that had been begun ten leagues above Quebec. There they left troops ſufficient to ſtop the progreſs of the enemy; and proceeded to Montreal, to concert meaſures to cancel their diſgrace.

It was there agreed, that in the ſpring they ſhould march out with an armed force againſt Quebec, to retake it by ſurpriſe; or if that ſhould fail, to beſiege it in form. They had nothing in readineſs for that purpoſe; but the plan was ſo concerted, that they ſhould enter upon the undertaking juſt at the inſtant when the ſuccours they expected from France could not fail of coming.

Though the colony had long been in dreadful want of every thing, the preparatives were already made, when the ice, which covered the whole river, began to give way towards the middle, and opened

a ſmall canal. They dragged ſome boats over the ice, and ſlipped them into the water. The army, conſiſting of citizens and ſoldiers, who made but one body, and were animated with one ſoul, fell down this ſtream, with inconceivable ardour, on the 12th of April 1760. The Britiſh thought they ſtill lay quiet in their winter quarters. The army, already landed, was juſt come up with an advanced guard of 1500 men poſted three leagues from Quebec. This party was juſt upon the point of being cut to pieces, had it not been for one of thoſe unaccountable incidents which no human prudence can forſee.

A gunner, attempting to ſtep out of his boat, had fallen into the water. He caught hold of a flake of ice, climbed up upon it, and ſwam down the ſtream. As he paſſed by Quebec, cloſe to the ſhore, he was ſeen by a centinel; who, obſerving a man in diſtreſs, called out for help. They flew to his aſſiſtance, and found him motionleſs. They knew him by his uniform to be a French ſoldier, and carried him to the governor's houſe, where by the help of ſpirituous liquors they recalled him to life for a moment. He juſt recovered his ſpeech enough to tell them that an army of 10,000 French was at the gates, and expired. The governor immediately diſpatched orders to the advanced guard to come within the walls with all expedition. Notwithſtanding their precipitate retreat, the French had time to attack their rear. A few moments later, they would have been defeated, and the city retaken.

The aſſailants, however, marched on with an intrepidity which ſeemed as if they expected every thing from their valour, and thought no more of a ſurpriſe. They were within a league of the town, when they were met by a body of 4000 men who were ſent out to ſtop them. The onſet was ſharp, and the reſiſtance obſtinate. The Engliſh were driven back within their walls, leaving 1800 of their braveſt men upon the ſpot, and their artillery in the enemy's hands.

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The trenches were immediately opened before Quebec; but as they had none but field-pieces, as no ſuccours came from France, and as a ſtrong Engliſh ſquadron was coming up the river, they were obliged to raiſe the ſiege on the 16th of May, and to retreat from poſt to poſt, as far as Montreal. Three formidable armies, one of which was come down, and another up the river, and a third proceeded over the lake Champlain, ſurrounded theſe troops, which were not very numerous at firſt, were now exceedingly reduced by frequent ſkirmiſhes and continual fatigues, and were in want both of proviſions and warlike ſtores. Theſe miſerable remains of a body of 7000 men, who had never been recruited, and had ſo much ſignalized themſelves, with the help of a few militia and a few Indians, were at laſt forced to capitulate, and for the whole colony. The conqueſt was confirmed by the treaty of peace, and this country increaſed the poſſeſſions of the Britiſh in North-America.

CHAP. XII.

CANADA is ceded to BRITAIN. What advantages ſhe might derive from that poſſeſſion.

THE acquiſition of an immenſe territory is not the only advantage accruing to Great Britain from the ſucceſs of her arms. The conſiderable population ſhe has found there is of ſtill greater importance. Some of theſe numerous inhabitants, it is true, have fled from a new dominion, which admitted no other difference among men but ſuch as aroſe from perſonal qualities, education, fortune, or the property of being uſeful to ſociety. But the emigration of theſe contemptible perſons, whoſe importance was founded on nothing but barbarous cuſtom, cannot ſurely have been conſidered as a misfortune. Would not the colony have been much benefited by

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getting rid of that indolent nobility that had encumbered it ſo long, of that proud nobility that kept up the contempt for all kinds of labour? The only things neceſſary to make the colony proſper, are, that its lands ſhould be cleared, its foreſts cut down, its iron mines worked, its fiſheries extended, its induſtry and exportations improved.

The province of Canada has been convinced of this truth. And indeed, notwithſtanding the ties of blood, language, religion, and government, which are uſually ſo ſtrong; notwithſtanding that variety of connections and prejudices which aſſume ſo powerful an aſcendant over the minds of men; the Canadians have not ſhewn much concern at the violent ſeparation by which they were detached from their ancient country. They have readily concurred in the means employed by the Engliſh miniſtry to eſtabliſh their happineſs and liberty upon a ſolid foundation.

The laws of the Engliſh admiralty were firſt given them. But this innovation was ſcarcely perceived by them; becauſe it ſcarce concerned any except the conquerors, who were in poſſeſſion of all the maritime trade of the colony.

They have paid more attention to the eſtabliſhment of the criminal laws of England, which was one of the moſt happy circumſtances Canada could experience. To the impenetrable myſterious tranſactions of a cruel inquiſition, ſucceeded a cool, rational, and public trial; a tribunal dreadful and accuſtomed to ſhed blood was replaced by humane judges, more diſpoſed to acknowledge innocence than to ſuppoſe criminality.

The conquered people have been ſtill more delighted on finding the liberty of their perſons ſecured for ever by the famous law of Habeas Corpus. As they had too long been victims of the arbitrary wills of thoſe who governed them, they have bleſſed the beneficent hand that drew them from a ſtate of ſlavery, to put them under the protection of the laws.

The attention of the Britiſh miniſtry was afterwards

wards taken up in ſupplying Canada with a code of civil laws. This important work, though intruſted to able, induſtrious, and upright lawyers, hath not yet obtained the ſanction of government. If the ſucceſs anſwers the expectations, a colony will at laſt be found which will have a legiſlative ſyſtem adapted to its climate, its population, and its labours.

Independent of theſe parental views, Great Britain has thought it her political intereſt to introduce, by ſecret ſprings, among her new ſubjects, an inclination for the cuſtoms, the language, the worſhip, and the opinions, of the mother country. This kind of analogy is, in fact, generally ſpeaking, one of the ſtrongeſt bands that can attach the colonies to the mother country. But we imagine that the preſent ſituation of things ought to have occaſioned a preference to another ſyſtem. Britain has at this time ſo much reaſon to be apprehenſive of the ſpirit of independence which prevails in North America, that perhaps it would have been more for her advantage to maintain Canada in a kind of diſtinct ſtate from the other provinces, rather than bring them nearer to each other by affinities which may one day unite them too cloſely.

However this may be, the Britiſh miniſtry have given the Engliſh government to Canada, ſo far as it was conſiſtent with an authority entirely regal, and without any mixture of a popular adminiſtration. Their new ſubjects, ſecure from the fear of future wars, eaſed of the burden of defending diſtant poſts which removed them far from their habitations, and deprived of the fur trade which has returned into its natural channel, have only to attend to their cultures. As theſe advance, their intercourſe with Europe and with the Caribbee iſlands will increaſe, and ſoon become very conſiderable. It will for the future be the only reſource of a vaſt country, into which France formerly poured immenſe ſums, conſidering it as the chief bulwark of her ſouthern iſlands.

BOOK IV.

GENERAL REFLECTIONS AND REMARKS ON ALL THE COLONIES.

I.

Extent of the BRITISH dominions in NORTH AMERICA.

THE two Floridas, part of Louiſiana, and all Canada, obtained at the ſame æra either by conqueſt or treaty, have rendered Britain miſtreſs of all that ſpace which extends from the river of St Lawrence to the Miſſiſipi; ſo that, without reckoning Hudſon's Bay, Newfoundland, and the other iſlands of North America, ſhe is in poſſeſſion of the moſt extenſive empire that ever was formed upon the face of the globe. This vaſt territory is divided from north to ſouth by a chain of high mountains, which, alternately receding from and approaching the coaſt, leave between them and the ocean a rich tract of land of an hundred and fifty, two hundred, and ſometimes three hundred miles in breadth. Beyond theſe Apalachian mountains is an immenſe deſert, into which ſome travellers have ventured as far as eight hundred leagues without finding an end to it. It is ſuppoſed that the rivers at the extremity of theſe uncultivated regions have a communication with the South Sea. If this conjecture, which is not deſtitute of probability, ſhould be confirmed by experience, Britain would unite in her colonies all the branches of communication and commerce of the new world. By her territories, extending from one American ſea to the other, ſhe may be ſaid to join

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the four quarters of the world. From all her European ports, from all her African ſettlements, ſhe freights and ſends out ſhips to the new world. From her maritime ſettlements in the Eaſt ſhe would have a direct channel to the Weſt Indies by the Pacific ocean. She would diſcover thoſe ſlips of land or branches of the ſea, the iſthmus or the ſtrait which lies between the northern extremities of Aſia and America. By the vaſt extent of her colonies ſhe would have in her own power all the avenues of trade, and would ſecure all the advantages of it by her numerous fleets. Perhaps, by having the empire of all the ſeas, ſhe might aſpire to the ſupremacy of both worlds. But it is not in the deſtiny of any ſingle nation to attain to ſuch a pitch of greatneſs. Is then extent of dominion ſo flattering an object, when conqueſts are made only to be loſt again? Let the Romans ſpeak! Does it conſtitute power to poſſeſs ſuch a ſhare of the globe that ſome part ſhall always be enlightened by the rays of the ſun, if while we reign in one world we are to languiſh in obſcurity in the other? Let the Spaniards anſwer!

The Engliſh will be happy if they can preſerve, by the means of culture and navigation, an empire which muſt ever be found too extenſive when it cannot be maintained without bloodſhed. But as this is the price which ambition muſt always pay for the ſucceſs of its interprizes, it is by commerce alone that conqueſts can become valuable to a maritime power. Never did war procure for any conqueror a territory more improveable by human induſtry than that of the northern continent of America. Although the land in general is ſo low near the ſea, that in many parts it is ſcarcely diſtinguiſhable from the top of the main maſt, even after bringing in fourteen fathom, yet the coaſt is very eaſy of acceſs, becauſe the depth diminiſhes inſenſibly as you advance. From this circumſtance it is eaſy to determine exactly by the line the diſtance of the main land. Beſides this, the mariner has another ſign, which is the appearance of trees, that, ſeeming

ing to ariſe out of the ſea, form an inchanting object to his view upon a ſhore which preſents roads and harbours without number for the reception and preſervation of ſhipping.

The productions of the earth ariſe in great abundance from a ſoil newly cleared; but in return they are a long time coming to maturity. Many plants are even ſo late in flower, that the winter prevents their ripening; while, on our continent, both the fruit and the ſeed of them are gathered in a more northern latitude. What ſhould be the cauſe of this phænomenon? Before the arrival of the Europeans, the North Americans, living upon the produce of their hunting and fiſhery, left their lands totally uncultivated. The whole country was covered with woods and thickets. Under the ſhade of theſe foreſts grew a multitude of plants. The leaves, which fell every winter from the trees, formed a bed three or four inches thick. Before the damps had quite rotted the ſpecies of manure the ſummer came on; and nature, left entirely to herſelf, continued heaping inceſſantly upon each other theſe effects of her fertility. The plants buried under wet leaves, through which they with difficulty made their way in a long courſe of time, became accuſtomed to a ſlow vegetation. The force of culture has not yet been able to ſubdue this habit fixed and confirmed by ages, nor have the diſpoſitions of nature given way to the influence of art. But this climate, ſo long unknown or neglected by mankind, preſents them with advantages which ſupply the defects and ill conſequences of that omiſſion.

II.

Trees peculiar to North America.

IT produces almoſt all the trees that are natives of our climate. It has alſo others peculiar to itſelf; among theſe are the ſugar maple, and the candle-

berry myrtle. The candleberry myrtle is a ſhrub which delights in a moiſt ſoil; and is, therefore, ſeldom found at any diſtance from the ſea. Its ſeeds are covered with a white powder, which looks like flour. When they are gathered towards the end of autumn, and put into boiling water, there ariſes a viſcuous body, which ſwims at the top, and is ſkimmed off. As ſoon as this is come to a conſiſtence, it is commonly of a dirty green colour. To purify it, it is boiled a ſecond time; when it becomes tranſparent, and of an agreeable green.

This ſubſtance, which in quality and conſiſtence is a medium between tallow and wax, ſupplied the place of both to the firſt Europeans that landed in this country. The dearneſs of it has occaſioned it to be the leſs uſed, in proportion as the number of domeſtic animals hath increaſed. Nevertheleſs, as it burns ſlower than tallow, is leſs ſubject to melt, and has not that diſagreeable ſmell, it is ſtill preferred, wherever it can be procured at a moderate price. The property of giving light is, of all its uſes, the leaſt valuable. It ſerves to make excellent ſoap and plaſters for wounds: it is even employed for the purpoſe of ſealing letters. The ſugar maple does not merit leſs attention than the candleberry myrtle, as may be conceived from its name.

This tree, whoſe nature it is to flouriſh by the ſide of ſtreams, or in marſhy places, grows to the height of an oak. In the month of March, an inciſion of the depth of three or four inches is made in the lower part of the trunk. A pipe is put into the orifice, through which the juice, that flows from it, is conveyed into a veſſel placed to receive it. The young trees are ſo full of this liquor, that in half an hour they will fill a quart bottle. The old ones afford leſs, but of a much better quality. No more than one inciſion or two at moſt can be made without draining and weakening the tree. If three or four pipes are applied, it ſoon dies.

The ſap of this tree has naturally the flavour of honey. To reduce it to ſugar, they evaporate it by fire;

fire, till it has acquired the conſiſtence of a thick ſyrup. It is then poured into moulds of earthen ware or bark of the birch-tree. The ſyrup hardens as it cools, and becomes a red kind of ſugar, almoſt tranſparent, and pleaſant enough to the taſte. To give it a whiteneſs, they ſometimes mix up flour with it in the making; but this ingredient always changes the flavour of it. This kind of ſugar is uſed for the ſame purpoſes as that which is made from canes; but eighteen or twenty pounds of juice go to the making of one pound of ſugar, ſo that it can be of no great uſe in trade.

III.

Birds peculiar to North America.

Amidst the multitude of birds which inhabit the foreſts of North America, there is one extremely ſingular in its kind. This is the humming bird; a ſpecies of which, on account of its ſmallneſs, is called by the French *l'oiſeau mouche*, or the fly-bird. Its beak is long, and pointed like a needle; and its claws are not thicker than a common pin. Upon its head it has a black tuft, of incomparable beauty. Its breaſt is of a roſe colour, and its belly white as milk. The back, wings, and tail, are grey, bordered with ſilver, and ſtreaked with the brighteſt gold. The down, which covers all the plumage of this little bird, gives it ſo delicate a caſt, that it reſembles a velvet flour, whoſe beauty fades on the ſlighteſt touch.

The ſpring is the only ſeaſon for this charming bird. Its neſt, perched on the middle of a bough, is covered on the outſide with a grey and greeniſh moſs, and on the inſide lined with a very ſoft down gathered from yellow flowers. This neſt is half an inch in depth, and about an inch in diameter. There are never found more than two eggs in it, about the ſize of the ſmalleſt peas. Many attempts have been made

to rear the young ones; but they have never lived more than three weeks, or a month at moſt.

The humming bird lives entirely on the juice of flowers, fluttering from one to another, like the bees. Sometimes it buries itſelf in the calix of the largeſt flowers. Its flight produces a buzzing noiſe like that of a ſpinning-wheel. When it is tired, it lights upon the neareſt tree or ſtake; reſts a few minutes, and flies again to the flowers. Notwithſtanding its weakneſs, it does not appear timid; but will ſuffer a man to approach within eight or ten feet of it.

Who would imagine, that ſo diminutive an animal could be malicious, paſſionate, and quarrelſome? They are often ſeen fighting together with great fury and obſtinacy. The ſtrokes they give with their beak are ſo ſudden and ſo quick, that they are not diſtinguiſhable by the eye. Their wings move with ſuch agility, that they ſeem not to move at all. They are more heard than ſeen; and their noiſe reſembles that of a ſparrow.

Theſe little birds are all impatience. When they come near a flower, if they find it faded and withered, they tear all the leaves aſunder. The precipitation, with which they peck it, betrays, as it is ſaid, the rage with which they are animated. Towards the end of the ſummer, thouſands of flowers may be ſeen ſtript of all their leaves by the fury of the fly-birds. It may be doubted, however, whether this mark of reſentment is not rather an effect of hunger than of an unneceſſarily deſtructive inſtinct.

North America formerly was devoured by inſects. As the air was not yet purified, nor the ground cleared, nor the woods cut down, nor the waters drained off, theſe little animals deſtroyed without oppoſition all the productions of nature. None of them was uſeful to mankind. There is only one at preſent, which is the bee: but this is ſuppoſed to have been carried from the old to the new world. The ſavages call it, the *Engliſh fly*; and it is only found near the coaſts. Theſe circumſtances announce it to be of foreign

reign original. The bees fly in numerous ſwarms through the foreſts of the new world. They increaſe every day. Their honey is employed to ſeveral uſes. Many perſons make it their food. The wax becomes daily a more conſiderable branch of trade.

IV.

The ENGLISH ſupply NORTH AMERICA with domeſtic animals.

THE bee is not the only preſent which Europe has had in her power to make to America. She has enriched her alſo with a breed of domeſtic animals; for the ſavages had none. America had not yet aſſociated beaſts with men in the labours of cultivation, when the Europeans carried over thither in their ſhips ſeveral of our ſpecies of domeſtic animals. They have multiplied there prodigiouſly; but all of them, excepting the hog, whoſe whole merit conſiſts in fattening himſelf, have loſt much of that ſtrength and ſize which they enjoyed in thoſe countries from whence they were brought. The oxen, horſes, and ſheep, have degenerated in the northern Britiſh colonies, though the particular kinds of each had been choſen with great precaution.

Without doubt, it is the climate, the nature of the air and the ſoil, which has prevented the ſucceſs of their tranſplantation. Theſe animals, as well as the men, were at firſt attacked by epidemical diſorders. If the contagion did not, as in the men, affect the principles of generation in them, ſeveral ſpecies of them at leaſt were with much difficulty reproduced. Each generation fell ſhort of the laſt; and as it happens to American plants in Europe, European cattle continually degenerated in America. Such is the law of climates, which wills every people, every animal and vegetable ſpecies, to grow and flouriſh in its native ſoil. The love of their own country ſeems an

ordinance of nature preſcribed to all beings, like the deſire of preſerving their exiſtence.

V.

EUROPEAN Grain carried into NORTH AMERICA by the ENGLISH.

YET there are certain correſpondences of climate which form exceptions to the general rule againſt tranſporting animals and plants. When the Engliſh firſt landed on the North American continent, the wandering inhabitants of thoſe deſolate regions had ſcarcely arrived at the cultivation of a ſmall quantity of maize. This ſpecies of corn, unknown at that time in Europe, was the only one known in the new world. The culture of it was by no means difficult. The ſavages contented themſelves with taking off the turf, making a few holes in the ground with a ſtick, and throwing into each of them a ſingle grain, which produced two hundred and fifty or three hundred. The method of preparing it for food was not more complicated. They pounded it in a wooden or ſtone mortar, and made it into a paſte, which they baked under embers. They ate it boiled, or toaſted merely upon the coals.

The maize has many advantages. Its leaves are uſeful in feeding cattle; a circumſtance of great moment where there are very few meadows. A hungry, light, ſandy ſoil agrees beſt with this plant. The ſeed may be frozen in the ſpring two or three times without impairing the harveſt. In ſhort, it is of all plants the one that is leaſt injured by the exceſs of drought or moiſture.

Theſe cauſes, which introduced the cultivation of it in that part of the world, induced the Engliſh to preſerve and even promote it in their ſettlements. They ſold it to Portugal, to South America, and the ſugar iſlands, and had ſufficient for their own uſe.

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They did not, however, neglect to enrich their plantations with European grains; all of which ſucceeded, though not ſo perfectly as in their native ſoil. With the ſuperfluity of their harveſts, the produce of their herds, and the clearing of the foreſts, the coloniſts formed a trade with all the wealthieſt and moſt populous provinces of the new world.

The mother country, finding that her northern colonies had ſupplanted her in her trade with South America, and fearing that they would ſoon become her rivals even in Europe at all the markets for ſalt and corn, endeavoured to divert their induſtry to objects that might be more uſeful to her. She wanted neither motives nor means to bring about this purpoſe, and had ſoon an opportunity to carry it into execution.

VI.

The ENGLISH find the neceſſity of having their naval ſtores from AMERICA.

THE greateſt part of the pitch and tar the Engliſh wanted for their fleets, uſed to be furniſhed by Sweden. In 1703, that ſtate was ſo blind to its true intereſt, as to lay this important branch of commerce under the reſtrictions of an excluſive patent. The firſt effect of this monopoly was a ſudden and unnatural increaſe of price. England, taking advantage of this blunder of the Swedes, encouraged by conſiderable premiums the importation of all ſorts of naval ſtores which North America could furniſh.

Theſe rewards did not immediately produce the effect that was expected from them. A bloody war, raging in each of the four quarters of the world, prevented both the mother country and the colonies from giving to this infant revolution of commerce the attention which it merited. The northern nations,

tions, whoſe intereſts were united, taking this inaction, which was only occaſioned by the hurry of a war, for an abſolute proof of inability, thought they might without danger lay upon the exportation of marine ſtores every reſtrictive clauſe that could contribute to enhance the price of them. For this end, they entered into mutual engagements, which were made public in 1718, a time when all the maritime powers ſtill felt the effects of a war that had continued fourteen years.

England was alarmed by ſo odious a convention. She diſpatched to America men of ſufficient ability to convince the inhabitants how neceſſary it was for them to aſſiſt the views of the mother country; and of ſufficient experience to direct their firſt attempts towards great objects, without making them paſs through thoſe minute details, which quickly extinguiſh an ardour excited with difficulty. In a very ſhort time ſuch quantities of pitch, tar, turpentine, yards and maſts, were brought into the harbours of Great Britain, that ſhe was enabled to ſupply the nations around her.

This ſudden ſucceſs blinded the Britiſh government. The cheapneſs of the commodities furniſhed by the colonies, in compariſon of thoſe which were brought from the Baltic, gave them an advantage which ſeemed to inſure a conſtant preference. Upon this the miniſtry concluded that the bounties might be withdrawn. But they had not taken into their calculation the difference of freight, which was entirely in favour of their rivals. A total ſtop enſued in this branch of trade, and made them ſenſible of their error. In 1729, they revived the bounties; which, tho' they were not laid ſo high as formerly, were ſufficient to give to the vent of American ſtores the greateſt ſuperiority, at leaſt in England, over thoſe of the northern nations.

The woods, though they conſtituted the principal riches of the colonies, had hitherto been overlooked by the governors of the mother country. The pro-

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duce of them had long been exported by the Engliſh to Spain, Portugal, and the different markets in the Mediterranean, where it was bought up for building and other uſes. As theſe traders did not take in return merchandiſe ſufficient to complete their cargoes, it had been a practice with the Hamburghers, and even the Dutch, to import on their bottoms the produce of the moſt fertile climates of Europe. This double trade of export and carrying had conſiderably augmented the Britiſh navy. The parliament, being informed of this advantage, in the year 1722, immediately exempted the timber of the colonies from all thoſe duties of importation, which Ruſſian, Swediſh, and Daniſh timber are ſubject to. This firſt favour was followed by a bounty, which, at the ſame time that it comprehended every ſpecies of wood in general, was principally calculated for thoſe which are employed in ſhip-building. An advantage, ſo conſiderable in itſelf as this was, would have been greatly improved, if the colonies had built among themſelves veſſels proper for tranſporting cargoes of ſuch weight; if they had made wood-yards, from which they might have furniſhed complete freights; and, finally, if they had aboliſhed the cuſtom of burning in the ſpring the leaves which had fallen in the preceeding autumn. This fooliſh practice deſtroys all the young trees, that are beginning in that ſeaſon to ſhoot out; and leaves only the old ones, which are too rotten for uſe. It is notorious, that veſſels conſtructed in America, or with American materials, laſt but a very ſhort time. This inconvenience may ariſe from ſeveral cauſes; but that which has juſt been mentioned merits the greater attention, as it may be eaſily remedied. Beſides timber and maſts for ſhips, America is capable of furniſhing likewiſe ſails and rigging, by the cultivation of hemp and flax.

The French proteſtants, who, when driven from their country by a victorious prince fallen into a ſtate of bigotry, carried their national induſtry every where into

into the countries of his enemies, taught England the value of two commodities of the utmoſt importance to a maritime power. Both flax and hemp were cultivated with ſome ſucceſs in Scotland and Ireland. Yet the manufactures of the nation were chiefly ſupplied with both from Ruſſia. To put a ſtop to this foreign importation, it was propoſed to grant a bounty to North America of 6*l.* for every ton of theſe articles. But habit, which is an enemy to all novelties, however uſeful, prevented the coloniſts at firſt from being allured by this bait. They are ſince reconciled to it; and the produce of their flax and hemp ſerves to keep at home a conſiderable part of 1,968,750*l.* which went annually out of Great Britain for the purchaſe of foreign linens. It may, perhaps, in time be improved ſo far as to be equal to the whole demand of the kingdom, and even to ſupplant other nations in all the markets. A ſoil entirely freſh, which coſts nothing, does not ſtand in need of manure, is interſected by navigable rivers, and may be cultivated by ſlaves, affords ground for immenſe expectations. To the timber and canvas requiſite for ſhipping we have yet to add iron. The northern parts of America furniſh this commodity, to aſſiſt in acquiring the gold and ſilver which ſo abundantly flow in the ſouthern.

VII.

ENGLAND begins to get Iron from NORTH AMERICA.

THIS moſt uſeful of metals, ſo neceſſary to mankind, was unknown to the Americans, till the Europeans taught them the moſt fatal uſe of it, that of making weapons. The Engliſh themſelves long neglected the iron mines, which nature had laviſhed on the continent where they were ſettled. That channel of wealth had been diverted from the mo-

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ther country by being clogged with enormous duties: The proprietors of the national mines, aided by thoſe of the coppice woods, which are uſed in the working of them, had procured impoſts to be laid on them that amounted to a prohibition. By corruption, intrigue, and ſophiſtry, theſe enemies to the public good had ſtifled a competition, which would have been fatal to their intereſts. At length the government took the firſt ſteps towards a right conduct. The importation of American iron into the port of London was granted duty-free; but at the ſame time it was forbid to be carried to any other ports, or even more than ten miles inland. This whimſical reſtriction continued till 1757. At that time the general voice of the people called upon the parliament to repeal an ordinance ſo manifeſtly contrary to every principle of public utility, and to extend to the whole kingdom a privilege which had been granted excluſively to the capital.

Though nothing could be more reaſonable than this demand, it met with the ſtrongeſt oppoſition. Combinations of intereſted individuals were formed to repreſent, that the hundred and nine forges wrought in England, not reckoning thoſe of Scotland, produced annually eighteen thouſand tons of iron, and employed a great number of able workmen; that the mines, which were inexhauſtable, would have ſupplied a much greater quantity, had not a perpetual apprehenſion prevailed that the duties on American iron would be taken off; that the iron works carried on in England conſumed annually one hundred and ninety-eight thouſand cords of underwood, and that thoſe woods furniſhed moreover bark for the tanneries and materials for ſhip-building; and that the American iron, not being proper for ſteel for making ſharp inſtruments or many of the utenſils of navigation, would contribute very little to leſſen the importation from abroad, and would have no other effect than that of putting a ſtop to the forges of Great Britain.

Theſe groundleſs repreſentations had no weight with

with the parliament, who ſaw clearly, that, unleſs the price of the original materials could be leſſened, the nation would ſoon loſe the numberleſs manufactures of iron and ſteel, by which it had ſo long been enriched, and that there was no time to be loſt in putting a ſtop to the progreſs other nations by their induſtry had made in it. It was therefore reſolved, that the free importation of iron from America ſhould be permitted in all the ports of England. This wiſe reſolution was accompanied with an act of juſtice. The proprietors of coppices were by a ſtatute of Henry VIII. forbidden to clear their lands: the parliament took off this prohibition, and left them at liberty to make ſuch uſe of their eſtates as they ſhould think proper.

Previous to theſe regulations, Great Britain uſed to pay annually to Spain, Norway, Sweden, and Ruſſia, 437,500*l.* for the iron ſhe purchaſed of them. This tribute is greatly leſſened, and will leſſen ſtill more. The ore is found in ſuch quantities in America, and is ſo eaſily ſeparated from the ground, that the Engliſh do not deſpair of having it in their power to furniſh Portugal, Turky, Africa, the Eaſt Indies, and every country in the world with which they have any commercial connections.

Perhaps the Engliſh may be too ſanguine in their repreſentations of the advantages they expect from ſo many articles of importance to their navy. But it is ſufficient for them, if by the aſſiſtance of their colonies they can free themſelves from that dependence in which the northern powers of Europe have hitherto kept them with regard to the equipment of their fleets. Formerly their operations might have been prevented, or at leaſt interrupted, by a refuſal of the neceſſary materials. From this time nothing will be able to check their natural ardour for the dominion of the ſea, which alone can inſure to them the empire of the new world.

VIII.

VIII.

ENGLAND endeavours to procure Wine and Silk from NORTH AMERICA.

AFTER having paved the way to that grand object, by forming a free, independent navy, ſuperior to that of every other nation; England has adopted every meaſure that can contribute to her enjoyment of this ſpecies of conqueſt ſhe has made in America, leſs by the force of her arms than of her induſtry. By bounties, judiciouſly beſtowed, ſhe has ſucceeded ſo far as to draw annually from that country twenty millions weight of potaſhes. The greateſt progreſs has been made in the cultivation of rice, indigo, and tobacco. In proportion as the ſettlements, from their natural tendency, ſtretched further towards the ſouth, freſh projects and enterprizes ſuitable to the nature of the ſoil ſuggeſted themſelves. In the temperate and in the hot climates, the ſeveral productions were expected which neceſſarily reward the labours of the cultivator. Wine was the only article that ſeemed to be wanting to the new hemiſphere; and the Engliſh, who have none in Europe, were eager to produce ſome in America.

Upon that immenſe continent the Engliſh are in poſſeſſion of, are found prodigious quantities of wild vines, which bear grapes, differing in colour, ſize, and quantity, but all of a ſour and diſagreeable flavour. It was ſuppoſed that good management would give theſe plants that perfection which unaſſiſted nature had denied them; and French vine-dreſſers were invited into a country, where neither public nor private impoſitions took away their inclination to labour by depriving them of the fruits of their induſtry. The repeated experiments they made both with American and European plants, were all equally unſucceſsful. The juice of the grape was too watery, too weak, and almoſt impoſſible to be preſerved

in a hot climate. The country was too full of woods, which attract and confine the moiſt and hot vapours; the ſeaſons were too unſettled, and the inſects too numerous near the foreſts to ſuffer a production to expand and proſper, of which the Britiſh, and all other nations who have it not, are ſo ambitious. The time will come, perhaps, tho' it will be long firſt, when their colonies will furniſh them with a beverage, which they envy and purchaſe from France, repining inwardly that they are obliged to contribute towards enriching a rival, whom they are anxious to ruin. This diſpoſition is cruel. Britain has other more gentle and more honourable means of attaining that proſperity ſhe is ambitious of. Her emulation may be better and more uſefully exerted on an article now cultivated in each of the four quarters of the globe: this is ſilk! the work of that little worm which clothes mankind with the leaves of trees digeſted in its entrails; ſilk! that double prodigy of nature and of art.

A very conſiderable ſum of money is annually exported from Great Britain for the purchaſe of this rich production; which gave riſe about thirty years ago to a plan for obtaining ſilk from Carolina. The mildneſs of the climate, and the great abundance of mulberry-trees, ſeemed favourable to the project. Some attempts made by the government to attract ſome Switzers into the colony, were more ſucceſsful than could have been expected. Yet the progreſs of this branch of trade has not been anſwerable to ſo promiſing a beginning. The blame has been laid on the inhabitants of the colony, who buying only negroe men, from whom they received an immediate and certain profit, neglected to have women, who with their children might have been employed in bringing up ſilk-worms, an occupation ſuitable to the weakneſs of that ſex, and to the tendereſt age. But it ought to have been conſidered, that men coming from another hemiſphere into a rude uncultivated country, would apply their firſt care to the cultivation of eſculent

culent plants, breeding cattle, and the toils of immediate neceſſity. This is the natural and conſtant proceeding of well-governed ſtates. From agriculture, which is the ſource of population, they riſe to the arts of luxury; and the arts of luxury nouriſh commerce, which is the child of induſtry and father of wealth. The time is perhaps come, when Britain may employ whole colonies in the cultivation of ſilk. This is, at leaſt, the national opinion. On the 18th of April 1769, the parliament granted a bounty of 25 *per cent.* for ſeven years on all raw ſilks imported from the colonies; a bounty of 20 *per cent.* for ſeven years following, and for ſeven years after that a bounty of 15 *per cent.* If this encouragement produces ſuch improvements as may reaſonably be expected from it, the next ſtep undoubtedly will be the cultivation of cotton and olive trees, which ſeem particularly adapted to the climate and ſoil of the Britiſh colonies. There are not, perhaps, any rich productions either in Europe or Aſia, but what may be tranſplanted and cultivated with ſucceſs on the vaſt continent of North America, as ſoon as population ſhall have provided hands in proportion to the extent and fertility of ſo rich a territory. The great object of the mother country at preſent is the peopling of her colonies.

IX.

What kind of Men BRITAIN peoples her North American Colonies with.

THE firſt perſons who landed in this deſert and ſavage region were Engliſhmen who had been perſecuted at home for their civil and religious opinions.

It was not to be expected that this firſt emigration would be attended with important conſequences. The inhabitants of Great Britain are ſo ſtrongly attached

to their native ſoil, that nothing leſs than civil wars or revolutions can induce thoſe among them who have any property, character, or induſtry, to a change of climate and country; for which reaſon the re-eſtabliſhment of public tranquillity in Europe was likely to put an unſurmountable bar to the progreſs of American cultivation.

Add to this, that the Engliſh, though naturally active, ambitious, and enterpriſing, were ill-adapted to the buſineſs of clearing the grounds. Accuſtomed to a quiet life, eaſe, and many conveniences, nothing but the enthuſiaſm of religion or politics could ſupport them under the labours, miſeries, wants, and calamities, inſeparable from new plantations.

It is further to be obſerved, that though England might have been able to overcome theſe difficulties, it was not a deſirable object for her. Without doubt, the founding of colonies, rendering them flouriſhing, and enriching herſelf with their productions, was an advantageous proſpect to her; but thoſe advantages would be dearly purchaſed at the expence of her own population.

Happily for her, the intolerant and deſpotic ſpirit, that ſwayed moſt countries of Europe, forced numberleſs victims to take refuge in an uncultivated tract, which, in its ſtate of deſolation, ſeemed to implore that aſſiſtance for itſelf which it offered to the unfortunate. Theſe men, who had eſcaped from the rod of tyranny, in croſſing the ſeas, abandoned all hopes of return, and attached themſelves for ever to a country which at the ſame time afforded them an aſylum and an eaſy quiet ſubſiſtence. Their good fortune could not remain for ever unknown. Multitudes flocked from different parts to partake of it. Nor has this eagerneſs abated, particularly in Germany, where nature produces men for the purpoſes either of conquering or cultivating the earth. It will even increaſe. The advantage granted to emigrants throughout the Britiſh dominions of being naturalized by a reſidence of ſeven years in the colonies, ſufficiently warrants this prediction.

While

While tyranny and perſecution were deſtroying population in Europe, Britiſh America was beginning to be peopled with three ſorts of inhabitants. The firſt claſs conſiſts of freemen. It is the moſt numerous; but hitherto it has viſibly degenerated. The Creoles in general, though habituated to the climate from their cradle, are not ſo robuſt and fit for labour, nor ſo powerful in war, as the Europeans; whether it be that they have not the improvements of education, or that they are ſoftened by nature. In that foreign clime the mind is enervated as well as the body: endued with a quickneſs and early penetration, it eaſily apprehends, but wants ſteadineſs, and is not uſed to continued thought. It muſt be a matter of aſtoniſhment to find that America has not yet produced a good poet, an able mathematician, or a man of genius in any ſingle art or ſcience. They poſſeſs in general a readineſs for acquiring the knowledge of every art or ſcience, but not one of them ſhews any deciſive talent for one in particular. More early advanced at firſt, and arriving at a ſtate of maturity ſooner than we do, they are much behind us in the later part of life.

Perhaps it will be ſaid, that their population is not very numerous in compariſon with that of all Europe together; that they want aids, maſters, models, inſtruments, emulation in the arts and ſciences; that education with them is too much neglected, or too little improved. But we may obſerve, that in proportion we ſee more perſons in America of good birth, of an eaſy competent fortune, with a greater ſhare of leiſure and of other means of improving their natural abilities, than are found in Europe, where even the very method of training up youth is often repugnant to the progreſs and unfolding of reaſon and genius. Is it poſſible, that although the Creoles educated with us have every one of them good ſenſe, or at leaſt the moſt part of them, yet not one ſhould have ariſen to any great degree of perfection in the ſlighteſt purſuit; and that among ſuch as have ſtaid

in their own country, no one has diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a confirmed ſuperiority in thoſe talents which lead to fame? Has nature, then, puniſhed them for having croſſed the ocean? Are they a race of people degenerated by tranſplanting, by growth, and by mixture? Will not time be able to reduce them to the nature of their climate? Let us beware of pronouncing on futurity, before we have the experience of ſeveral centuries. Let us wait till a more ample burſt of light has ſhone over the new hemiſphere. Let us wait till education may have corrected the unſurmountable tendency of the climate towards the enervating pleaſures of luxury and ſenſuality. Perhaps we ſhall then ſee that America is propitious to genius and the arts, that give birth to peace and ſociety. A new Olympus, an Arcadia, an Athens, a new Greece, will produce, perhaps, on the continent, or in the Archipelago that ſurrounds it, another Homer, a Theocritus, and eſpecially an Anacreon. Perhaps another Newton is to ariſe in New Britain. From Britiſh America, without doubt, will proceed the firſt rays of the ſciences, if they are at length to break through a ſky ſo long time clouded. By a ſingular contraſt with the old world, in which the arts have travelled from the ſouth towards the north, in the new one the north will be found to enlighten the ſouthern parts. Let the Britiſh clear the ground, purify the air, alter the climate, improve nature, and a new univerſe will ariſe out of their hands for the glory and happineſs of humanity. But it is neceſſary that they ſhould take ſteps conformable to this noble deſign, and aim by juſt and laudable means to form a population fit for the creation of a new world. This is what they have not yet done.

The ſecond claſs of their coloniſts was formerly compoſed of malefactors which the mother country tranſported after condemnation to America, and who were bound to a ſervitude of ſeven or fourteen years to the planters who had purchaſed them out of the hands of juſtice. The diſguſt is grown univerſal

againſt

againſt theſe corrupt men, always diſpoſed to commit freſh crimes.

Theſe have been replaced by indigent perſons, whom the impoſſibility of ſubſiſting in Europe has driven into the new world. Having embarked without being capable of paying for their paſſage, theſe wretches are at the diſpoſal of their captain, who ſells them to whom he pleaſes.

This ſort of ſlavery is for a longer or ſhorter time; but it can never exceed eight years. If among theſe emigrants there are any who are not of age, their ſervitude laſts till they arrive at that period, which is fixed at twenty-one for the boys, and eighteen for the girls.

None of thoſe who are contracted for have a right to marry without the approbation of their maſter, who ſets what price he chuſes on his conſent. If any one of them runs away, and he is retaken, he is to ſerve a week for each day's abſence, a month for every week, and ſix months for one. The proprietor who does not think proper to receive again one who has deſerted from his ſervice, may ſell him to whom he pleaſes, but only for the term of his firſt contract. Beſides, neither the ſervice, nor the ſale, carry any ignominy with it. At the end of his ſervitude, the contracted perſon enjoys all the rights of a free denizen. With his freedom he receives from the maſter whom he has ſerved, either implements for huſbandry, or utenſils proper for his work.

But with whatever appearance of juſtice this ſpecies of traffic may be coloured, the greateſt part of the ſtrangers who go over to America under theſe conditions, would never ſet their foot on board a ſhip, if they were not inveigled away. Some artful kidnappers from the fens of Holland ſpread themſelves over the Palatinate, Suabia, and the cantons of Germany which are the beſt peopled or leaſt happy. There they ſet forth with raptures the delights of the new world, and the fortunes eaſily acquired in that country. The ſimple men ſeduced, by theſe magni-

ficent

ficent promiſes, blindly follow theſe infamous brokers engaged in this ſcandalous commerce, who deliver them over to factors at Amſterdam or Rotterdam. Theſe, either in pay with the Britiſh government, or with companies who have undertaken to ſtock the colonies with people, give a gratuity to the men employed in this ſervice. Whole families are ſold, without their knowledge, to maſters at a diſtance, who impoſe the harder conditions upon them, as hunger and neceſſity do not permit the ſufferers to give a refuſal. The Britiſh form their ſupplies of men for huſbandry as princes do for war; for a purpoſe more uſeful and more humane, but by the ſame artifices. The deception is perpetually carried on in Europe, by the attention paid to the ſuppreſſing of all correſpondence with America, which might unvail a myſtery of impoſture and iniquity too well diſguiſed by the intereſted principles which gave riſe to it.

But, in ſhort, there would not be ſo many dupes, if there were fewer victims. It is the oppreſſion of government which makes theſe chimerical ideas of fortune be adopted by the credulity of the people. Men unfortunate in their private affairs, vagabonds, or contemptible at home, having nothing worſe to fear in a foreign climate, eaſily give themſelves up to the hope of a better lot. The means uſed to retain them in a country where chance has given him birth, are fit only to excite in them a deſire to quit it. It is imagined that they are to be under the conſtant reſtraint of prohibitions, menaces, and puniſhments: theſe do but exaſperate them, and drive them to deſertion by the very forbidance of it. They ſhould be attached by ſoothing means; by fair expectations; whereas they are impriſoned, and bound: man, born free, is reſtrained from attempting to exiſt in regions where heaven and earth offer him an aſylum. It has been thought better to ſtifle him in his cradle than to let him ſeek for his living in ſome climate that is ready to give him ſuccour. It is not

judged

judged proper even to leave him the choice of his burial-place.—Tyrants in policy! theſe are the effects of your laws! People, where then are your rights?

It is then become neceſſary to lay open to the nations the ſchemes that are formed againſt their liberty? Muſt they be told, that, by a conſpiracy of the moſt odious nature, certain powers have lately entered into an agreement, which muſt deprive even deſpair itſelf of every reſource? For theſe two centuries paſt, all the princes of Europe have been fabricating among them in the ſecret receſſes of the cabinet that long and heavy chain with which the people are encompaſſed on every ſide. At every negociation freſh links were added to the chain ſo artificially contrived. Wars tended not to make ſtates more extenſive, but ſubjects more ſubmiſſive, by gradually ſubſtituting military government in lieu of the mild and gentle influence of laws and morality. The ſeveral potentates have all equally ſtrengthened themſelves in their tyranny by their conqueſts or by their loſſes. When they were victorious, they reigned by their armies; when humbled by defeat, they held the command by the miſery of their puſillanimous ſubjects; whether ambition made them competitors or adverſaries, they entered into league or alliance only to aggravate the ſervitude of the people. If they choſe to kindle war, or maintain peace, they were ſure to turn to the advantage of their authority either the raiſing or debaſing of their people. If they ceded a province, they exhauſted every other to recover it, in order to make amends for their loſs. If they acquired a new one, the haughtineſs they affected out of it, was the occaſion of cruelty and extortion within. They borrowed one of another by turns every art and invention, whether of peace or of war, that might concur ſometimes to foment natural antipathy and rivalſhip, ſometimes to obliterate the character of the nations, as if there had been a tacit agreement among the rulers to ſubject the nations;

tions ; one by means of another, to the deſpotiſm they had conſtantly been preparing for them. Ye people who all groan more or leſs ſecretly, doubt not of your condition ; thoſe who never entertained any affection for you, are come now not to have any fear of you. In the extremity of wretchedneſs, one ſingle reſource remained for you ; that of eſcape and emigration.—Even that has been ſhut againſt you.

Princes have agreed among themſelves to reſtore to one another not only deſerters, who for the moſt part, inliſted by compulſion or by fraud, have a good right to eſcape ; not only rogues, who in reality ought not to find a refuge any where ; but indifferently all their ſubjects, whatever may be the motive that obliged them to quit their country.

Thus all you unhappy labourers, who find neither ſubſiſtence nor work in your own countries, after they have been ravaged and rendered barren by the exactions of finance ; thus ye die where ye had the misfortune to be born, ye have no refuge but under ground. All ye artiſts and workmen of every claſs harraſſed by monopoliſts, who are refuſed the right of working at your own free diſpoſal, without having purchaſed the privileges of your calling ; ye who are kept for your whole life in the work-ſhop, for the purpoſe of enriching a privileged factor ; ye whom a court-mourning leaves for months together without bread or wages ; never expect to live out of a country where ſoldiers and guards keep you impriſoned ; go wander in deſpair, and die of regret. If ye venture to groan, your cries will be re-echoed and loſt in the depth of a dungeon ; if ye make your eſcape, ye will be purſued even beyond mountains and rivers : ye will be ſent back, or given up, bound hand and foot, to torture ; and to that eternal reſtraint to which you have been condemned from your birth. Do you likewiſe, whom nature has endowed with a free ſpirit, independent of prejudice and error, who dare to think and talk like men, do you

eraſe

eraſe from your minds every idea of truth, nature, and humanity. Applaud every attack made on your country and your fellow-citizens, or elſe maintain a profound ſilence in the receſſes of obſcurity and concealment. All ye who were born in thoſe barbarous ſtates, where the condition for the mutual reſtoration of deſerters has been entered into by the ſeveral princes, and ſealed by a treaty; recollect the inſcription Dante has engraved on the gate of his infernal region: *Voi ch' entrate, laſciate omai ogni ſperanza:* "You who enter here, may leave behind "you every hope."

What! is there then no aſylum remaining beyond the ſeas? Will not Britain open her colonies to thoſe wretches, who voluntarily prefer her dominion to the inſupportable yoke of their own country? What need has ſhe of that infamous band of contracted ſlaves, kidnapped and debauched by the ſhameful means employed by every ſtate to increaſe their armies? What need has ſhe of thoſe beings ſtill more miſerable, of whom ſhe compoſes the third part of her American population? Yes, by an iniquity the more ſhocking as it is apparently the leſs neceſſary, her northern colonies have had recourſe to the traffic and ſlavery of the negroes. It will not be diſowned, that they may be better fed, better clothed, leſs ill treated, and leſs overburdened with toil, than in the iſlands. The laws protect them more effectually, and they ſeldom become the victims of the barbarity or caprice of an odious tyrant. But ſtill what muſt be the burden of a man's life who is condemned to languiſh in eternal ſlavery? Some humane ſectaries, Chriſtians who look for virtues in the goſpel more than for opinions, have often been deſirous of reſtoring to their ſlaves that liberty for which they cannot receive any adequate compenſation; but they have been a long time withheld by a law of the ſtate, which directed that an aſſignment of a ſufficiency for ſubſiſtence ſhould be made to thoſe who were ſet at liberty.

Let

Let us rather ſay, The convenient cuſtom of being waited on by ſlaves; the fondneſs we have for power, which we attempt to juſtify by pretending to alleviate their ſervitude; the opinion ſo readily entertained, that they do not complain of a ſtate which is by time changed into nature; theſe are the ſophiſms of ſelf-love, calculated to appeaſe the clamours of conſcience. The generality of mankind are not born with evil diſpoſitions, or prone to do ill by choice; but even among thoſe whom nature ſeems to have formed juſt and good, there are but few who poſſeſs a ſoul ſufficiently diſintereſted, courageous, and great, to do any good action, if they muſt ſacrifice ſome advantage for it.

But ſtill the quakers have juſt ſet an example which ought to make an epocha in the hiſtory of religion and humanity. In one of theſe aſſemblies, where every one of the faithful, who conceives himſelf moved by the impulſe of the holy Spirit, has a right of ſpeaking; one of the brethren, who was himſelf undoubtedly inſpired on this occaſion, aroſe and ſaid: "How long then ſhall we have two conſcien-
" ces, two meaſures, two ſcales; one in our own
" favour, one for the ruin of our neighbour, both
" equally falſe? Is it for us, brethren, to complain
" at this moment, that the parliament of Britain
" wiſhes to enſlave us, and to impoſe upon us the
" yoke of ſubjects, without leaving us the rights of
" citizens; while for this century paſt, we have
" been calmly acting the part of tyrants, by keeping in bonds of the hardeſt ſlavery men who are
" our equals and our brethren? What have thoſe
" unhappy creatures done to us, whom nature hath
" ſeparated from us by barriers ſo formidable, whom
" our avarice has ſought after through ſtorms and
" wrecks, and brought away from the midſt of their
" burning ſands, or from their dark foreſts inhabited by tygers? What crime have they been guilty
" of, that they ſhould be torn from a country which
" fed them without toil, and that they ſhould be
" tranſplant-

" tranſplanted by us to a land where they periſh
" under the labours of ſervitude? Father of hea-
" ven, what family haſt Thou then created, in which
" the elder born, after having ſeized on the proper-
" ty of their brethren, are ſtill reſolved to compel
" them, with ſtripes, to manure with the blood of
" their veins and the ſweat of their brow that very
" inheritance of which they have been robbed? De-
" plorable race! whom we render brutes, to tyran-
" nize over them; in whom we extinguiſh every
" power of the ſoul, to load their limbs and their
" bodies with burdens; in whom we efface the
" image of God, and the ſtamp of manhood: a
" race mutilated and diſhonoured as to the faculties
" of mind and body, throughout its exiſtence, by
" us who are Chriſtians and Britons! Britons, ye
" people favoured by Heaven, and reſpected on the
" ſeas, would ye be free and tyrants at the ſame in-
" ſtant? No, brethren: it is time we ſhould be con-
" ſiſtent with ourſelves. Let us ſet free thoſe miſer-
" able victims of our pride: let us reſtore the ne-
" groes to liberty, which man ſhould never take
" from man. May all Chriſtian ſocieties be induced
" by our example to repair an injuſtice authoriſed
" by the crimes and plunders of two centuries!
" May men too long degraded, at length raiſe to
" Heaven their arms freed from chains, and their
" eyes bathed in tears of gratitude! Alas! the un-
" happy mortals have hitherto ſhed no tears but
" thoſe of deſpair!"

This diſcourſe awakened remorſe, and the ſlaves in Penſylvania were ſet at liberty. A revolution ſo amazing muſt neceſſarily have been the work of a people inclined to toleration. But let us not expect ſimilar inſtances of heroiſm in thoſe countries which are as deep ſunk in barbariſm by the vices attendant on luxury, as they have formerly been from ignorance. When a government, at once both prieſtly and military, has brought every thing, even the opinions of men, under its yoke; when man, become an impo-

ſtor, has perſuaded the armed multitude that he holds from Heaven the right of oppreſſing the earth; there is no ſhadow of liberty left for civilized nations: Why ſhould they not take their revenge on the ſavage people of the torrid zone?

X.

Preſent ſtate of Population in the BRITISH Provinces of NORTH AMERICA.

NOT to mention the population of the negroes, which may amount to 300,000 ſlaves, in 1750 a million of inhabitants were reckoned in the Britiſh provinces of North America. There muſt be now upwards of two millions; as it is proved by undeniable calculations, that the number of people doubles every 15 or 16 years in ſome of thoſe provinces, and every 18 or 20 in others. So rapid an increaſe muſt have two ſources. The firſt is that number of Iriſhmen, Jews, Frenchmen, Switzers, Palatines, Moravians, and Saltzburghers, who, after having been worn out with the political and religious troubles they had experienced in Europe, have gone in ſearch of peace and quietneſs in diſtant climates. The ſecond ſource of that amazing increaſe is from the climate itſelf of the colonies, where experience has ſhewn that the people naturally doubled their numbers every five and twenty years. Mr Franklin's remarks will make theſe truths evident.

The numbers of the people, ſays that philoſopher, increaſe every where in proportion to the number of marriages; and that number increaſes as the means of ſubſiſting a family are rendered more eaſy. In a country where the means of ſubſiſtence abound, more people marry early. In a ſociety, whoſe proſperity is a mark of its antiquity, the rich, alarmed at the expences which female luxury brings along with it, are as late as poſſible in forming an eſtabliſhment, which

which it is difficult to fix, and whoſe maintenance is coſtly; and the perſons who have no fortunes paſs their days in a celibacy which diſturbs the married ſtate. The maſters have but few children, the ſervants have none at all, and the artificers are afraid of having any. This irregularity is ſo perceptible, eſpecially in great towns, that families are not kept up ſufficiently to maintain population in an even ſtate, and that we conſtantly find there more deaths than births. Happily for us, that decay has not yet penetrated into the country, where the conſtant practice of making up the deficiency of the towns gives a little more ſcope for population. But the lands being every where occupied, and let at the higheſt rate, thoſe who cannot arrive at property of their own, are hired by thoſe who have property. Rivalſhip, owing to the multitude of workmen, lowers the price of labour; and the ſmallneſs of their profits takes away the deſire and the hope, as well as the abilities requiſite for increaſe by marriage. Such is the preſent ſtate of Europe.

That of America preſents an appearance of a quite contrary nature. Tracts of land, waſte and uncultivated, are to be had, either for nothing; or ſo cheap, that a man of the leaſt turn for labour, is furniſhed in a ſhort time with an extent, which, while it is ſufficient to rear a numerous family, will maintain his poſterity for a conſiderable time. The inhabitants, therefore, of the new world, induced likewiſe by the climate, marry in greater numbers, and at an earlier time of life, than the inhabitants of Europe. Where one hundred enter into the married ſtate in Europe, there are two hundred in America; and if we reckon four children to each marriage in our climates, we ſhould allow, at leaſt, eight in the new hemiſphere. If we multiply theſe families by their produce, it will appear that in leſs than two centuries the Britiſh northern colonies will arrive at an immenſe degree of population, unleſs the mother country contrive ſome obſtacles to impede its natural progreſs.

XI.

Happineſs of the Inhabitants in the BRITISH Colonies of NORTH AMERICA.

THEY are now peopled with healthy and robuſt men, of a ſtature above the common ſize. Theſe Creoles are more quick, and come to their full growth ſooner, than the Europeans: but they are not ſo long-lived. The low price of meat, fiſh, grain, game, fruits, cyder, vegetables, keeps the inhabitants in a great plenty of things merely for nouriſhment. It is neceſſary to be more careful with reſpect to cloth-ing, which is ſtill very dear, whether brought from Europe, or made in the country. Manners are in the ſtate they ſhould be among young colonies, and people given to cultivation, not yet poliſhed nor cor-rupted by the reſort of great cities. Throughout the families in general, there reigns oeconomy, neat-neſs, and regularity. Gallantry and gaming, the paſſions of eaſy wealth, ſeldom break in upon that happy tranquillity. The ſex are ſtill what they ſhould be, gentle, modeſt, compaſſionate, and uſeful; they are in poſſeſſion of thoſe virtues which continue the empire of their charms. The men are employed in their original duties, the care and improvement of their plantations, which will be the ſupport of their poſterity. The general ſentiment of benevolence unites every family. Nothing contributes to this union ſo much as a certain equality of ſtation, a ſe-curity that ariſes from property, a general hope which every man has of increaſing it, and the facility of ſucceeding in this expectation; in a word, nothing contributes to it ſo much as the reciprocal indepen-dence in which all men live, with reſpect to their wants, joined to the neceſſity of ſocial connections for the purpoſes of their pleaſures. Inſtead of luxu-ry, which brings miſery in its train, inſtead of that afflicting

afflicting and ſhocking tract, an univerſal welfare, wiſely dealt out in the original diſtribution of the lands, has by the influence of induſtry given riſe in every breaſt to the deſire of pleaſing one another; a deſire, without doubt, more ſatisfactory than the ſecret diſpoſition to injure our brethren, which is inſeparable from an extreme inequality of fortune and condition. Men never meet without ſatisfaction when they are neither in that ſtate of mutual diſtance which leads to indifference, nor in that way of rivalſhip which borders on hatred. They come nearer together, and collect in ſocieties. In ſhort, it is in the colonies that men lead ſuch a country-life as was the original deſtination of mankind, beſt ſuited to the health and increaſe of the ſpecies: probably, they enjoy all the happineſs conſiſtent with the frailty of human nature. We do not, indeed, find there thoſe graces, thoſe talents, thoſe refined enjoyments, the means and expence of which wear out and fatigue the ſprings of the ſoul, and bring on the vapours of melancholy which ſo naturally follow an indulgence in ardent pleaſure: but there are the pleaſures of domeſtic life; the mutual attachments of parent and children; and conjugal love, that paſſion ſo pure and ſo delicious to the ſoul that can taſte it and deſpiſe all other gratifications. This is the enchanting proſpect exhibited throughout North America. It is in the wilds of Florida, and Virginia, even in the foreſts of Canada, that men are enabled to continue to love, their whole life long, what was the object of their firſt affection, innocence and virtue, which never entirely loſe their beauty.

If any thing be wanting in Britiſh America, it is its not forming preciſely one people. Families are there found ſometimes re-united, ſometimes diſperſed, originating from all the different countries of Europe. Theſe coloniſts, in what ever ſpot chance or diſcernment may have placed them, all preſerve, with a prejudice not to be worn out, their mother-tongue, the partialities and the cuſtoms of their own country. Separate ſchools and churches hinder them

from mixing with the hoſpitable people, who hold out to them a place of refuge. Still eſtranged from this people by worſhip, by manners, and probably by their feelings, they harbour ſeeds of diſſention that may one day prove the ruin and total overthrow of the colonies. The only preſervative againſt this diſaſter depends entirely on the management of the ruling powers.

XII.

What kind of Government is eſtabliſhed in the BRITISH Colonies of NORTH AMERICA.

BY ruling powers muſt not be underſtood thoſe ſtrange conſtitutions of Europe, which are a rude mixture of ſacred and profane laws. Britiſh America was wiſe or happy enough not to admit any eccleſiaſtical power: being from the beginning inhabited by Preſbyterians, ſhe rejected with horror every thing that might revive the idea of it. All affairs that in the other parts of the globe depend on the tribunal of prieſts, are here brought before the civil magiſtrate or the national aſſemblies. The attempts made by thoſe of the Engliſh church to eſtabliſh their hierarchy in that country, have ever been abortive, notwithſtanding the ſupport given by the mother country: but ſtill they have their ſhare in the adminiſtration of buſineſs as well as thoſe of other ſects. None but catholics have been excluded, on account of their refuſing thoſe oaths which the public tranquillity ſeemed to require. In this view American government has deſerved great commendation; but in other reſpects, it is not ſo well combined.

Policy, in its aim and principal object, reſembles the education of children. They both tend to form men, and ſhould be ſimilar to each other in many reſpects. Savage people, firſt united in Society, require as much as children, to be ſometimes led on by gentle means, and ſometimes reſtrained by compulſion.

For

For want of experience, which alone forms our reaſon, as they are incapable of governing themſelves throughout the changes of things, and the various concerns that belong to a riſing ſociety, government ſhould be enlightened with regard to them, and guide them by authority to years of maturity. Juſt ſo barbarous nations are under the rod, and as it were in the leading ſtrings of deſpotiſm, till in the advance of ſociety their intereſts teach them to conduct themſelves.

Civilized nations, like young men, more or leſs advanced not in proportion to their abilities, but from the conduct of their early education, as ſoon as they come to their own ſtrength, and their own pretenſions, require being managed and even reſpected by their governors. A ſon well educated ſhould engage in no undertaking without conſulting his father; a prince, on the contrary, ſhould make no regulations without conſulting his people. Further, the ſon, in reſolutions where he follows the advice of his father, frequently hazards nothing but his own happineſs; in all that a prince ordains, the happineſs of his people is concerned. The opinion of the public, in a nation that thinks and ſpeaks, is the rule of the government; and the prince ſhould never ſhock that opinion without public reaſons, nor ſtrive againſt it without conviction. Government is to model all its forms according to that opinion: opinion, it is well known, varies with manners, habits, and information. So that one prince may, without finding the leaſt reſiſtance, do an act of authority, not to be revived by his ſucceſſor without exciting the public indignation. From whence does this difference ariſe? The predeceſſor cannot have ſhocked an opinion that was not ſprung up in his time, while a ſucceeding prince may have openly counteracted it a century later. The firſt, if I may be allowed the expreſſion, without the knowledge of the public, may have taken a ſtep whoſe violence he may have ſoftened or made amends for by the happy ſucceſs of his government; the other ſhall, perhaps, have increaſed the public calamities by ſuch

unjuſt

unjuſt acts of wilful authority as may perpetuate its firſt abuſes. Public remonſtrance is generally the cry of opinion; and the general opinion is the rule of government; and becauſe public opinion governs mankind, kings for this reaſon became rulers of men. Governments then, as well as opinions, ought to improve and advance to perfection. But what is the rule for opinions among an enlightened people? It is the permanent intereſt of ſociety, the ſafety and advantage of the nation. This intereſt is modified by the turn of events and ſituations; public opinion and the form of the government follow theſe ſeveral modifications. This is the ſource of all the forms of government, eſtabliſhed by the Engliſh, who are rational and free, throughout North America.

The government of Nova Scotia, of one of the provinces in New England, New York, New Jerſey, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Georgia, is ſtyled *royal*, becauſe the king of England is there veſted with the ſupreme authority. Repreſentatives of the people form a lower houſe, as in the mother country: a ſelect council, approved by the king, intended to ſupport the prerogatives of the crown, repreſents the houſe of peers and maintains that repreſentation by the fortune and rank of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſons in the country, who are members of it. A governor convenes, prorogues, and diſſolves their aſſemblies; gives or refuſes aſſent to their deliberations, which receive from his approbation the force of law, till the king, to whom they are tranſmitted, has rejected them.

The ſecond kind of government which takes place in the colonies, is known by the name of *proprietary government*. When the Engliſh firſt ſettled in thoſe diſtant regions, a greedy, active court-favourite eaſily obtained in thoſe waſtes, which were as large as kingdoms, a property and authority without bounds. A bow and a few ſkins, the only homage exacted by the crown, purchaſed for a man in power the right of ſovereignty, or governing as he pleaſed, in an unknown

known country: ſuch was the origin of government in the greater part of the colonies. At preſent Maryland and Penſylvania are the only provinces under this ſingular form of government, or rather this irregular foundation of ſovereignty. Maryland, indeed, differs from the reſt of the provinces only by receiving its governor from the family of Baltimore, whoſe nomination is to be approved by the king. In Penſylvania, the governor named by the proprietary family, and confirmed by the crown, is not ſupported by a council which gives a kind of ſuperiority; and he is obliged to agree with the commons, in whom is naturally veſted all authority.

A third form, ſtyled by the Engliſh, *charter government*, ſeems more calculated to adduce harmony in the conſtitution. After having been that of all the provinces of New England, it now ſubſiſts only in Connecticut and in Rhode iſland. It may be conſidered as a mere democracy. The inhabitants of themſelves elect, depoſe all their officers, and make all laws they think proper, without being obliged to have the aſſent of the king, or his having any right to annul them.

At length the conqueſt of Canada, joined to the acquiſition of Florida, has given riſe to a form of legiſlation hitherto unknown throughout the realm of Great Britain. Thoſe provinces have been put or left under the yoke of military, and conſequently abſolute, authority. Without any right to aſſemble in a national body, they receive immediately from the court of London every motion of government.

This diverſity of governments is not the work of the mother country. We do not find the traces of a reaſonable, uniform, and regular legiſlation. It is chance, climate, the prejudices of the times and of the founders of the colonies, that have produced this motely variety of conſtitutions. It is not for men, who are caſt by chance upon a deſert coaſt, to conſtitute a legiſlation.

All legiſlation in its nature, ſhould aim at the happineſs of ſociety. The means by which it is to attain

tain that ſingular elevated point, depend entirely on its natural qualities. Climate, that is to ſay, the ſky and the ſoil, are the firſt rule for the legiſlator. His reſources dictate to him his duties. In the firſt inſtance, the local poſition ſhould be conſulted. A number of people thrown on a maritime coaſt, will have laws more or leſs relative to agriculture or navigation, in proportion to the influence the ſea or land may have on the ſubſiſtence of the inhabitants who are to people that deſert coaſt. If the new colony is led by the courſe of ſome large river far within land, a legiſlator ought to have regard to their race, and the degree of their fecundity, and the connections the colony will have either within or without by the traffic of commodities moſt advantageous to its proſperity.

But it is eſpecially in the diſtribution of property that the wiſdom of legiſlation will appear. In general, and throughout all the countries in the world, when a colony is founded, land is to be given to every perſon, that is to ſay, to every one an extent ſufficient for the maintenance of a family: more ſhould be given to thoſe who have abilities to make the neceſſary advances for improvement: ſome ſhould be kept vacant for poſterity, or for additional ſettlers, with which the colony may in time be augmented.

The firſt object of a riſing colony is ſubſiſtence and population: the next is the proſperity likely to flow from theſe two ſources. To avoid occaſions of war, whether offenſive or defenſive; to turn induſtry towards thoſe objects which produce moſt; not to form connections around them, except ſuch as are unavoidable, and may be proportioned to the ſtability which the colony acquires by the number of its inhabitants and the nature of its reſources; to introduce, above all things, a partial and local ſpirit in a nation which is going to be eſtabliſhed, a ſpirit of union within, and of peace without; to refer every inſtitution to a diſtant but laſting point; and to make every occaſional law ſubſervient to the ſettled regulation,

tion, which alone is to effect an increaſe of numbers, and to give ſtability to the ſettlement; theſe circumſtances make no more than a ſketch of a legiſlation.

The moral ſyſtem is to be formed on the nature of the climate. A large field for population is at firſt to be laid open by facilitating marriage, which depends open the facility of procuring ſubſiſtence. Sanctity of manners ſhould be eſtabliſhed by opinion. In a barbarous iſland, which is to be ſtocked with children, no more would be neceſſary than to leave the firſt dawnings of truth to enlarge themſelves, as reaſon unfolds itſelf. With proper precautions againſt idle fears proceeding from ignorance, the errors of ſuperſtition ſhould be removed, till that period when the warmth of the natural paſſions, fortunately uniting with the rational powers, diſſipates every phantom. But when people, already advanced in life, are to be eſtabliſhed in a new country, the ability of legiſlation conſiſts in not leaving behind any injurious opinions or habits, which may be cured or corrected. If we wiſh that they ſhould not be tranſmitted to poſterity, we ſhould watch over the ſecond generation by a general and public education of the children. A prince or legiſlator ſhould never found a colony, without previouſly ſending thither ſome proper perſons for the education of youth; that is, ſome governors rather than teachers: for it is of leſs moment to teach them what is good, than to guard them from evil. Good education arrives too late, when the people are already corrupted. The ſeeds of morality and virtue, ſown in the infancy of a race already corrupted, are annihilated, in the early ſtages of manhood, by debauchery, and the contagion of ſuch vices as have already become habitual in ſociety. The beſt educated young men cannot come into the world without making engagements and contracting acquaintance, on which the remainder of their lives depends. If they marry, follow any profeſſion or purſuit, they find the ſeeds of evil and corruption rooted in every condition: a

conduct

conduct entirely oppoſite to their principles, example, and diſcourſe, which diſconcerts and combats their beſt reſolutions.

But, in a riſing colony, the influence of the firſt generation may be corrected by the manners of the ſucceeding. The minds of all are prepared for virtue by labour. The neceſſities of life remove all vices proceeding from leiſure. The overflowings of ſuch population have a natural tendency towards the mother country, where luxury continually invites and ſeduces the rich and voluptuous planter. All means are open to the precautions of a legiſlator, who intends to refine the conſtitution and manners of the colony. Let them but have genius and virtue, the lands and the people he has to manage will ſuggeſt to his mind a plan of ſociety, that a writer can only mark out in a vague manner, liable to all the uncertainty of hypotheſes that are varied and complicated by an infinity of circumſtances too difficult to be foreſeen and put together.

But the firſt foundation of a ſociety for cultivation or commerce is property. It is the ſeed of good and evil, natural or moral, conſequent on the ſocial ſtate. Every nation ſeems to be divided into two irreconcileable parties. The rich and the poor, the men of property and the hirelings, that is to ſay, maſters and ſlaves, form two claſſes of citizens, unfortunately in oppoſition with one another.

In vain have ſome modern authors wiſhed by ſophiſtry to eſtabliſh a treaty of peace between theſe two ſtates. The rich on all occaſions are diſpoſed to get a great deal from the poor at little expence; and the poor are ever inclined to ſet a higher value on their labour: while the rich man muſt always give the law in that too unequal bargain. Hence ariſes the ſyſtem of counterpoiſe eſtabliſhed in ſo many countries. The people have not deſired to attack property, which they conſidered as ſacred; but they have made attempts to fetter it, and to check its natural tendency to abſorb the whole. Theſe counterpoiſes

terpoiſes have almoſt always been ill applied, as they were but a feeble remedy againſt the original evil in ſociety. It is then to the repartition of lands that a legiſlator will turn his principal attention. The more wiſely that diſtribution ſhall be managed, the more ſimple, uniform, and preciſe, will be thoſe laws of the country which principally conduce to the preſervation of property.

The Britiſh colonies partake, in that reſpect, of the radical vice inherent in the ancient conſtitution of the mother country. As its preſent government is but a reformation of that feudal government which had oppreſſed all Europe, it ſtill retains many uſages, which, being originally but abuſes of ſervitude, are ſtill more ſenſible by their contraſt with the liberty which the people have recovered. It has, therefore, been found neceſſary to join the laws which left many rights to the nobility, to thoſe which modify, leſſen, abrogate, or ſoften, the feudal rights. Hence ſo many laws of exception for one of principle; ſo many of interpretation for one fundamental; ſo many new laws that are at variance with the old. So that it is agreed, there is not in the whole world a code ſo diffuſe, ſo perplexed, as that of the civil law of Great Britain. The wiſeſt men of that enlightened nation have often exclaimed againſt this diſorder. They have either not been heard, or the changes which have been produced by their remonſtrances have only ſerved to increaſe the confuſion.

By their dependence and their ignorance, the colonies have blindly adopted that deformed and ill-digeſted maſs whoſe burden oppreſſed their anceſtors: they have added to that obſcure heap of materials by every new law that the times, manners, and place, could introduce. From this mixture has reſulted a chaos the moſt difficult to unfold; a collection of contradictions that require much pains to reconcile. Immediately there ſprang up a numerous body of lawyers to devour the lands and inhabitants of thoſe new-ſettled climates. The fortune and influence they have acquired in a ſhort time, have brought into ſub-

jection to their rapaciouſneſs the valuable claſs of citizens employed in agriculture, commerce, in all the arts and toils moſt indiſpenſably neceſſary for all ſociety, but almoſt ſingularly eſſential to a riſing community. To the ſevere evil of chicane, which has attached itſelf to the branches in order to ſeize on the fruit, has ſucceeded the ſcourge of finance, which preys on the heart and root of the tree.

XIII.

The coin current in the BRITISH Colonies in NORTH AMERICA.

IN the origin of the colonies, the coin bore the ſame value as in the mother country. The ſcarcity of it ſoon occaſioned a riſe of one third. That inconvenience was not remedied by the abundance of ſpecie which came from the Spaniſh colonies; becauſe they were obliged to tranſmit that into England in order to pay for the merchandiſe they wanted from thence. This was a gulph that ſucked up the circulation in the colonies. The confuſion occaſioned by this continual export furniſhed a pretence for the employing of paper-money.

There are two ſorts of it. The firſt has in view the encouragement of agriculture, trade, and induſtry. Every coloniſt who has more ambition than means, obtains from the province a paper credit, provided he conſents to pay an intereſt of 5 *per cent.* furniſhes a ſufficient mortgage, and agrees to repay every year a tenth of the capital borrowed. By means of this mark, which is received without diſpute into the public treaſury, and which their fellow-citizens cannot refuſe, the buſineſs of private perſons becomes more briſk and eaſy. The government itſelf draws conſiderable advantages from this circulation; becauſe as it receives intereſt and pays none, it can without the aid of taxes apply this fund to the important objects of public utility.

But

But there is another ſort of paper, whoſe exiſtence is ſolely owing to the neceſſities of government. The ſeveral provinces of America had formed projects and contracted engagements beyond their abilities. They thought to make good the deficiency of their money by credit. Taxes were impoſed to liquidate thoſe bills that preſſed for payment; but before the taxes had produced that ſalutary effect, new wants came on, that required freſh loans. The debts, therefore, accumulated, and the taxes were not ſufficient to anſwer them. At length, the amount of the government bills exceeded all bounds after the late hoſtilities, during which the colonies had raiſed and provided for 25,000 men, and contributed to all the expences of ſo long and obſtinate a war. The paper thus ſank into the utmoſt diſrepute, though it had been introduced only by the conſent of the ſeveral general aſſemblies, and that each province was to be anſwerable for what was of their own creation.

The parliament of Great Britain obſerved this confuſion, and attempted to remedy it. They regulated the quantity of paper circulation each colony ſhould create for the future; and, as far as their information went, proportioned the maſs of it to their riches and reſources. This regulation diſpleaſed all perſons, and in the year 1769 it was ſoftened.

Paper, of the uſual figure of the coin, ſtill continues to paſs in all kinds of buſineſs. Each piece is compoſed of two round leaves, glued one on the other, and bearing on each ſide the ſtamp that diſtinguiſhes them. There are ſome of every value. Each province has a public building for the making of them, and private houſes from whence they are diſtributed: the pieces, which are much worn or ſoiled, are carried to theſe houſes, and freſh ones received in exchange. There never has been an inſtance of the officers employed in theſe exchanges having been guilty of the leaſt fraud.

But this honeſty is not ſufficient for the proſperity

of the colonies. Though for forty years their conſumption has increaſed four times as much as their population, from whence it is apparent that the abilities of each ſubject are four times what they were; yet one may foretel, that theſe large eſtabliſhments will never riſe to that degree of ſplendour for which nature deſigns them, unleſs their fetters are broken which confine both their interior induſtry and their foreign trade.

XIV.

The BRITISH Colonies in NORTH AMERICA are ſhackled in their Induſtry and Commerce.

THE firſt coloniſts that peopled North America applied themſelves in the beginning ſolely to agriculture. It was not long before they perceived that their exports did not enable them to buy what they wanted; and they, therefore, found themſelves in a manner compelled to ſet up ſome rude manufactures. The intereſts of the mother country ſeemed hurt at this innovation. The circumſtance was brought into parliament, and there diſcuſſed with all the attention it deſerved. There were men bold enough to defend the cauſe of the coloniſts. They urged, that as the buſineſs of tillage did not employ men all the year round, it was tyranny to oblige them to waſte in idleneſs the time which the land did not require: that as the produce of agriculture and hunting did not furniſh them to the extent of their wants, it was reducing them to miſery to hinder the people from providing againſt them by a new ſpecies of induſtry: in ſhort, that the prohibition of manufactures only tended to occaſion the price of all proviſions in a riſing ſtate to be enhanced; to leſſen, or perhaps ſtop, the ſale of them, and keep off ſuch perſons as might intend to ſettle there.

The evidence of theſe principles was not to be contro-

controverted: they were complied with after great debates. The Americans were permitted to manufacture their own cloths themſelves; but with ſuch reſtrictions, as betrayed how much avarice regretted, what an appearance of juſtice could not but allow. All communication from one province to another on this account was ſeverely prohibited. They were forbidden, under the heavieſt penalties, to traffic from one to the other for wool of any ſort, raw or manufactured. However, ſome manufacturers of hats ventured to break through theſe reſtrictions. To put a ſtop to what was termed a heinous diſorderly practice, the parliament had recourſe to that mean and cruel ſpirit of regulations. A workman was not empowered to ſet up for himſelf till after ſeven years apprenticeſhip; a maſter was not allowed to have more than two apprentices at a time, nor to employ any ſlave in his workſhop.

Iron mines, which ſeem to put into mens hands the marks of their own independence, were laid under reſtrictions ſtill more ſevere. It was not allowed to carry iron in bars, or rough lumps, any where but to the mother country. Without crucibles to melt it, or machines to bend it, without hammers or anvils to faſhion it, they had ſtill leſs the liberty of converting it into ſteel.

Importation received ſtill further reſtraints. All foreign veſſels, unleſs in evident diſtreſs or danger of wreck, or freighted with gold or ſilver, were not to come into any of the ports of North America. Even Britiſh veſſels are not admitted there, unleſs they come immediately from ſome port of that country. The ſhipping of the colonies going to Europe, are to bring back no merchandize but from the mother country, except wine from the Madeiras and the Azores, and ſalt neceſſary for their fiſheries.

All exportations were originally to terminate in Britain: but weighty reaſons have determined the government to relax and abate this extreme ſeverity. It is at preſent allowed to the coloniſts to carry di-

rectly ſouth of Cape Finiſterre, grain, meal, rice, vegetables, fruit, ſalt, fiſh, planks, and timber. All other productions belong excluſively to the mother country. Even Ireland, that furniſhed an advantageous vent for corn, flax, and pipe-ſtaves, has been ſhut againſt them by an act of parliament in 1766.

The parliament, which is the repreſentative of the nation, aſſumes the right of directing commerce in its whole extent throughout the Britiſh dominions. It is by that authority they pretend to regulate the connections between the mother country and the colonies; to maintain a communication, an advantageous reciprocal re-action, between the ſcattered parts of the immenſe empire. There ſhould, in fact, be one power to appeal to, in order to determine finally upon the relations that may be uſeful or prejudicial to the general good of the whole ſociety. The parliament is the only body that can aſſume ſuch an important power. But they ought to employ it to the advantage of every member of that confederated ſociety. This is an inviolable maxim, eſpecially in a ſtate where all the powers are formed and directed for the preſervation of natural liberty.

They departed from that principle of impartiality, which alone can maintain the equal ſtate of independance among the ſeveral members of a free government, when the colonies were obliged to vent in the mother country all their productions, even thoſe which were not for its own conſumption; when they were obliged to take from the mother country all kinds of merchandiſe, even thoſe which came from foreign nations. This imperious and uſeleſs reſtraint, loading the ſales and purchaſes of the Americans with unneceſſary and ruinous charges, has of courſe leſſened their activity, and conſequently diminiſhed their profits; and it has been only for the purpoſe of enriching a few merchants, or ſome factors at home, that the rights and intereſts of the colonies have thus been ſacrificed. All they owed to Britain for the protection they received

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from her, was but a preference in the ſale and importation of all ſuch of their commodities as ſhe could conſume; and a preference in the purchaſe and in the exportation of all ſuch merchandiſe as came from her hands: So far all ſubmiſſion was a return of gratitude; beyond it, all obligation was violence.

It is thus that tyranny has given birth to contraband trade. Trangreſſion is the firſt effect produced by unreaſonable laws. In vain has it frequently been repeated to the colonies, that ſmuggling was contrary to the fundamental intereſt of their ſettlements, to all reaſon of government, and to the expreſs intentions of law. In vain has it been continually laid down in public writings, that the ſubject who pays duty is oppreſſed by him who does not pay it; and that the fraudulent merchant robs the fair trader by diſappointing him of his lawful profit. In vain have precautions been multiplied for preventing ſuch frauds, and freſh penalties inflicted for the puniſhment of them. The voice of intereſt, reaſon, and equity, has prevailed over all the clamours and attempts of finance: Foreign importations ſmuggled into North America, amount to one third of thoſe which pay duty.

An indefinite liberty, or merely a reſtraint within due bounds, will ſtop the prohibited engagements of which ſo much complaint has been made. Then the colonies will arrive at a ſtate of affluence, which will enable them to diſcharge a weight of debt due to the mother country, amounting, perhaps, to 6,562,500*l.* and to draw yearly from thence goods to the amount of 4,725,000*l.* agreeable to the calculation of American conſumption ſtated by the parliament of Great Britain in 1766. But inſtead of this pleaſing proſpect, which one ſhould imagine muſt of courſe ariſe from the conſtitution of the Britiſh government, was there any neceſſity, by a pretenſion not to be ſupported among a free people, to introduce into the colonies, with the hardſhips of taxation, the ſeeds of diſorder and diſcord, and perhaps to kindle a flame which it is not ſo eaſy to extinguiſh as to light up?

XV.

Of the Taxation of the Colonies.

1. *The mother-country has attempted to eſtabliſh taxes in the colonies of North America. Whether ſhe had a right to do this?*

BRITAIN had juſt emerged from a war, as one may ſay univerſal, during which her fleets had planted the ſtandard of victory over all the ſeas, and her conqueſts had enlarged her dominion with an immenſe territory in both the Indies. Such a ſudden increaſe gave her in the eyes of all the world a ſplendour that muſt raiſe envy and admiration; but within herſelf ſhe was continually reduced to grieve at her triumphs. Cruſhed with a load of debt to the amount of 145,687,500*l.* that coſt her an intereſt of 4,881,515*l.* 3*s.* 9*d.* a-year, ſhe was with difficulty able to ſupport the current expences of the ſtate, with a revenue of 10,500,000*l.* and that revenue, far from increaſing, was not even ſecure of continuance.

The land was charged with a higher tax than it had ever been in time of peace. New duties on houſes and windows undermined that ſort of property; and an increaſe of ſtock on a review of the finances depreſſed the value of the whole. A terror had been ſtruck even into luxury itſelf, by taxes heaped on plate, cards, dice, wines, and brandy. No further expectation was to be had from commerce, which paid in every port, at every iſſue for the merchandiſe of Aſia, for the produce of America, for ſpices, ſilks, for every article of export or import, whether manufactured or unwrought. The prohibitions of heavy duties had fortunately reſtrained the abuſes of ſpirituous liquors; but that was partly at the expence of the public revenue. It was thought amends would be made by one of thoſe expedients which it is generally eaſy to find, but hazardous to

look

look out for, among the objects of general conſumption and abſolute neceſſity. Duties were laid on the drink of the common people, on malt, cyder, and beer. Every ſpring was ſtrained: every power of the body politic had been extended to its utmoſt ſtretch. Materials and workmanſhip had ſo prodigiouſly riſen in price, that foreigners, whether rivals or conquered, which before had not been able to ſupport a conteſt with the Britiſh, were enabled to ſupplant them in every market, even in their own ports. The commercial advantages of Britain with every part of the world could not be valued at more than 2,450,000*l.* and that ſituation obliged her to draw from the balance 1,535,625*l.* to pay the arrears of 51,187,500*l.* which foreigners had placed in her public funds.

The criſis was a violent one. It was time to give the people ſome relief. They could not be eaſed by a diminution of expences, thoſe being inevitable, either for the purpoſe of improving the conqueſts purchaſed by ſuch a loſs of blood and treaſure; or to mitigate the feelings of the Houſe of Bourbon, ſoured by the humiliations of the late war, and the ſacrifices of the late peace. In default of other means, to manage with a ſteady hand as well the preſent ſecurity as future proſperity, the expedient occurred of calling in the colonies to the aid of the mother country, by making them bear a part of her burden. This determination ſeemed to be founded on reaſons not to be controverted.

It is a duty impoſed by the avowed maxims of all ſocieties and of every age, on the different members which compoſe a ſtate, to contribute towards all expences in proportion to their reſpective abilities. The ſecurity of the American provinces requires ſuch a ſhare of aſſiſtance from them, as may enable the mother country to protect them upon all occaſions. It was to deliver them from the uneaſineſs that moleſted them, that Britain had engaged in a war which has multiplied her debts: they ought then to aid her in bearing

bearing or leſſening the weight of that overcharge. At preſent, when they are freed of all apprehenſion from the attempts of a formidable adverſary, which they have fortunately removed, can they without injuſtice refuſe their deliverer, when her neceſſities are preſſing, that money which purchaſed their preſervation? Has not that generous protector, for a conſiderable time, granted encouragement to the improvement of their rich productions? Has ſhe not laviſhed gratuitous advances of money, and does ſhe not ſtill laviſh them on lands not yet cleared? Do not ſuch benefits deſerve to meet a return of relief and even of ſervices?

Such were the motives that perſuaded the Britiſh government that they had a right to eſtabliſh taxation in the colonies. They availed themſelves of the event of the late war, to aſſert this claim ſo dangerous to liberty. For if we attend to it, we ſhall find, that war, whether ſucceſsful or not, ſerves always as a pretext for every uſurpation of government; as if the heads of warring nations rather intended to reduce their ſubjects to more confirmed ſubmiſſion, than to make a conqueſt of their enemies. The American provinces were accordingly ordered to furniſh the troops ſent by the mother country for their ſecurity with a part of the neceſſaries required by an army. The apprehenſion of diſturbing that agreement which is ſo neceſſary among ourſelves, when ſurrounded by adverſaries without, induced them to comply with the injunctions of the parliament; but with ſuch prudence as not to ſpeak of an act they could neither reject without occaſioning civil diſſention, nor recogniſe without expoſing rights too precious to be forfeited. New-York alone ventured to diſapprove the orders ſent from Europe. Tho' the tranſgreſſion was ſlight, it was puniſhed as a diſobedience by a ſuſpenſion of her privileges.

It was moſt probable, that this attack made on the liberty of the colony would excite the remonſtrance of all the reſt. Either thro' want of attention or foreſight,

foreſight, none of them complained. This ſilence was interpreted to proceed from fear, or from voluntary ſubmiſſion. Peace, that ſhould leſſen taxes every where, gave birth in the year 1764 to that famous ſtamp-act, which, by laying a duty on all marked paper, at the ſame time forbade the uſe of any other in public writings, whether judicial, or extra-judicial.

All the Britiſh colonies of the new continent revolted againſt this innovation, and their diſcontent manifeſted itſelf by ſignal acts. They entered into an agreement or conſpiracy, the only one that ſuited moderate and civilized people, to forego all manufactures made up in the mother country, till the bill they complained of was repealed. The women, whoſe weakneſs was moſt to be feared, was the firſt to give up whatever Europe had before furniſhed them with either for parade or convenience. Animated by their example, the men rejected the commodities for which they were indebted to the old world. In the northern countries, they were found paying as much for the coarſe ſtuffs made under their own inſpection, as for fine cloths which were brought over the ſeas. They engaged not to eat lamb, that their flocks might increaſe, and in time be ſufficient for the clothing of all the coloniſts. In the ſouthern provinces, where wood is ſcarce and of an inferior quality, they were to dreſs themſelves with cotton and flax furniſhed by their own climate. Agriculture was every where neglected, in order that the people might qualify themſelves for the induſtry of the workſhop.

This kind of indirect and paſſive oppoſition, which deſerves to be imitated by all nations who may hereafter be aggrieved by the undue exerciſe of authority, produced the deſired effect. The Engliſh manufacturers, who had ſcarce any other vent for their goods than their own colonies, fell into that ſtate of deſpondency which is the natural conſequence of want of employment: and their complaints, which could neither be ſtifled nor concealed by adminiſtration,

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made an impreſſion which proved favourable to the colonies. The ſtamp-act was repealed, after a violent ſtruggle that laſted two years, and which in an age of fanaticiſm would doubtleſs have occaſioned a civil war.

But the triumph of the colonies did not laſt long. The parliament had given up the point with the greateſt reluctance: and it clearly appeared they had not laid aſide their pretenſions, when in 1767 they threw the duties which the ſtamp-act would have produced, upon all glaſs, lead, tea, colours, paſteboard and ſtained paper, exported from England to America. Even the patriots themſelves, who ſeemed moſt inclined to enlarge the authority of the mother country over the colonies, could not help condemning a tax, which in its conſequences muſt affect the whole nation, by diſpoſing numbers to apply themſelves to manufactures, who ought to have been ſolely devoted to the improvement of lands. The coloniſts have not been the dupes of this, any more than of the firſt innovation. It has in vain been urged, that government had the power to impoſe what duties it thought proper upon imported goods, ſo long as it did not deprive the colonies of the liberty of manufacturing the articles ſubject to this new tax. This ſubterfuge has been conſidered as a deriſion, in reſpect to a people, who being devoted entirely to agriculture, and confined to trade only with the mother country, could not procure either by their own labour, or by their connections abroad, the neceſſary articles that were ſold them at ſo high a price. They thought, when a tax was to be impoſed, it was nothing more than a nominal diſtinction, whether it were levied in Europe, or America; and that their liberty was equally infringed by a duty laid upon commodities they really wanted, as by a tax upon ſtamped paper, which they had been made to conſider as a neceſſary article. Theſe intelligent people ſaw that government was inclined to deceive them, and thought it an indignity to ſuffer themſeves to be

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the dupes either of force or of fraud. It appeared to them the ſureſt mark of weakneſs and degeneracy in the ſubjects of any nation, to wink at all the artful and violent meaſures adopted by government to corrupt and enſlave them.

The diſlike they have ſhewn to theſe new impoſts, was not founded on the idea of their being exorbitant, as they did not amount to more than about 1*s.* 3*d.* for each perſon: which could give no alarm to a very populous community, whoſe puplic expence never exceeded the annual ſum of 157,500*l.*

It was not from any apprehenſion that the eaſe of their circumſtances would be affected: ſince the ſecurity they derived from the provinces ceded by France in the laſt war; the increaſe of their trade with the ſavages; the enlargement of their whale and cod-fiſheries, together with thoſe of the ſhark and the ſeal; the right of cutting wood in the bay of Campeachy; the acquiſition of ſeveral ſugar-iſlands; the opportunities of carrying on a contraband trade with the neighbouring Spaniſh ſettlements: all theſe circumſtances of advantage were abundantly ſufficient to compenſate the ſmall proportion of revenue which government ſeemed ſo anxious to raiſe.

It was not their concern leſt the colonies ſhould be drained of the ſmall quantity of ſpecie which continued in circulation. The pay of eight thouſand four hundred regular troops, maintained by the mother country in North America, muſt bring much more coin into the country than the tax could carry out of it.

It was not an indifference towards the mother country. The colonies, far from being ungrateful, have demonſtrated ſo zealous an attachment to her intereſts during the laſt war, that parliament had the equity to order conſiderable ſums to be remitted to them by way of reſtitution or indemnification.

Nor, laſtly, was it ignorance of the obligations that ſubjects owe to government. Had not even the colonies acknowledged themſelves bound to contri-

bute towards the payment of the national debt, tho' they had, perhaps, been the occaſion of contracting the greateſt part of it; they knew very well, that they were liable to contribute towards the expences of the navy, the maintenance of the African and American ſettlements, and to all the common expenditures relative to their own preſervation and proſperity, as well as to that of the capital.

If the Americans refuſe to lend their aſſiſtance to Europe, it is becauſe what need only have been aſked was exacted from them; and becauſe what was required of them as a matter of obedience, ought to have been raiſed by voluntary contribution. Their refuſal was not the effect of caprice; but of jealouſy of their rights, which have been confirmed in ſome judicious writings, and more particularly in ſome eloquent letters, from which we ſhall borrow the principal facts we are going to ſtate on a ſubject which muſt be intereſting to every nation on the globe.

During almoſt two centuries that have paſſed ſince the Engliſh eſtabliſhed themſelves in North America, their country has been harraſſed by expenſive and bloody wars; thrown into confuſion by enterpriſing and turbulent parliaments; and governed by a bold and corrupt miniſtry, ever ready to raiſe the power of the crown upon the ruin of all the privileges and rights of the people. But notwithſtanding the influence of ambition, avarice, faction, and tyranny, the liberty of the colonies to raiſe their own taxes for the ſupport of the public revenue hath on all hands been acknowledged and regarded.

This privilege, ſo natural and conſonant to the fundamental principles of all rational ſociety, was confirmed by a ſolemn compact. The colonies might appeal to their original charters, which authoriſe them to tax themſelves freely and voluntarily. Theſe acts were, in truth, nothing more than agreements made with the crown; but even ſuppoſing that the prince had exceeded his authority by making conceſſions which certainly did not turn to his advantage, long poſſeſſion,

poſſeſſion, tacitly owned and acknowledged by the ſilence of parliament, muſt conſtitnte a legal preſcription.

The American provinces have ſtill more authentic claims to urge in their favour. They aſſert, that a ſubject of England, in whatever hemiſphere he reſides, is not obliged to contribute to the expences of the ſtate without his own conſent, given either by himſelf or his repreſentatives. It is in the defence of this ſacred right that the nation has ſo often ſpilt her blood, dethroned her kings, and either excited or oppoſed numberleſs commotions. Will ſhe chuſe to diſpute with two millions of her children, an advantage which has coſt her ſo dear, and is perhaps the ſole foundation of her own independence?

It is urged againſt the colonies, that the Roman catholics reſiding in England are excluded from the right of voting, and that their eſtates are ſubjected to a double tax. The coloniſts aſk in reply, why the papiſts refuſe to take the oaths of allegiance required by the ſtate? This conduct makes them ſuſpected by government, and the jealouſy it excites authoriſes that government to treat them with rigour. Why not abjure a religion ſo contrary to the free conſtitution of their country, ſo favourable to the inhuman claims of deſpotiſm, and to the attempts of the crown againſt the rights of the people? Why that blind prepoſſeſſion in favour of a church which is an enemy to all others? *They* deſerve the penalties which the ſtate that tolerates them impoſes upon ſubjects of intolerant principles. But the inhabitants of the new world would be puniſhed without having offended, if they were not able to become ſubjects without ceaſing to be Americans.

Theſe faithful colonies have likewiſe been told with ſome confidence, that there are multitudes of ſubjects in Britain who are not repreſented; becauſe they have not the property required to entitle them to vote at an election for members of parliament: What ground have they to expect any greater privileges

than thoſe enjoyed by the ſubjects of the mother country? The colonies, in anſwer to this, deny that they wiſh for ſuperior indulgences; they only want to ſhare them in common with their brethren. In Great Britain, a perſon who enjoys a freehold of forty ſhillings a-year is conſulted in the framing of a tax-bill, and ſhall not the man who poſſeſſes an immenſe tract of land in America have the ſame privilege? No: That which is an exception to a law, a deviation from the general rule of the mother country, ought not to become a fundamental point of conſtitution for the colonies. Let the Engliſh, who wiſh to deprive the provinces in America of the right of taxing themſelves, ſuppoſe for a moment, that the houſe of commons, inſtead of being choſen by them, is an hereditary and eſtabliſhed tribunal, or even arbitrarily appointed by the crown; if this body could levy taxes upon the whole nation without conſulting the public opinion and the general inclinations of the people, would not the Engliſh look upon themſelves to be as much ſlaves as any other nation? However, even in this caſe, five hundred men, ſurrounded by ſeven millions of their fellow-ſubjects, might be kept within the bounds of moderation, if not by a principle of equity, at leaſt by a well-grounded apprehenſion of the public reſentment, which purſues the oppreſſors of their country even beyond the grave. But the caſe of Americans taxed by the great council of the mother country would be irremediable. At too great a diſtance to be heard, they would be oppreſſed with taxes without regard to their complaints. Even the tyranny exerciſed towards them would be varniſhed over with the glorious appellation of patriotiſm. Under pretence of relieving the mother country, the colonies would be overburned with impunity.

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2. Whether the Colonies ſhould ſubmit to be taxed.

WITH this alarming proſpect before them, they will never ſubmit to give up the right of taxing themſelves. So long as they debate freely on the ſubject of public revenue, their intereſts will be attended to; or if their rights ſhould ſometimes be violated, they will ſoon obtain a redreſs of their grievances. But their remonſtrances will no longer have any weight with government, when they are not ſupported by the right of granting or refuſing money towards the exigences of the ſtate. The ſame power which will have uſurped the right of levying taxes, will eaſily uſurp the diſtribution of them. As it dictates what proportion they ſhall raiſe, it will likewiſe dictate how that ſhall be laid out; and the ſums apparently deſigned for their ſervice, will be employed to enſlave them. Such has been the progreſſion of empires in all ages. No ſociety ever preſerved its liberty, after it had loſt the privilege of voting in the confirmation or eſtabliſhment of laws relative to the revenue. A nation muſt for ever be enſlaved, in which no aſſembly or body of men remains who have the power to defend its rights againſt the encroachments of the ſtate by which it is governed.

The provinces in Britiſh America have every reaſon imaginable to dread the loſs of their independence. Even their confidence may betray them, and make them fall a prey to the deſigns of the mother country. They are inhabited by an infinite number of honeſt and upright people, who have no ſuſpicion that thoſe who hold the reins of empire can be hurried away by unjuſt and tyrannical paſſions. They take it for granted that their country cheriſhes thoſe ſentiments of maternal tenderneſs which are ſo conſonant to her true intereſts, and to the love and veneration which they entertain for her. To the unſuſpecting credulity of theſe honeſt ſubjects, who cheriſh ſo agreeable a deluſion, may be added the acquieſcence of thoſe who

think it not worth while to trouble their repoſe on account of inconſiderable taxes. Theſe indolent people do not perceive that the plan was, at firſt, to lull their vigilance aſleep by impoſing a moderate duty; that Britain only wanted to eſtabliſh an example of ſubmiſſion, upon which it might ground future pretenſions; that if the parliament has been able to raiſe one guinea, it can raiſe ten thouſand; and that there will be no more reaſon to limit this right, than there would be juſtice in acknowledging it at preſent. But the greateſt injury to liberty ariſes from a ſet of ambitious men, who, purſuing an intereſt diſtinct from that of the public and of poſterity, are wholly bent on increaſing their credit, their rank, and their eſtates. The Britiſh miniſtry, from whom they have procured employments, or expect to receive them, finds them always ready to favour their odious projects, by the contagion of their luxury and their vices, by their artful inſinuations and the flexibility of their conduct.

Let all true patriots then firmly oppoſe the ſnares of prejudice, indolence, and ſeduction; nor let them deſpair of being victorious in a conteſt in which their virtue has engaged them. Attempts will, perhaps, be made to ſhake their fidelity, by the plauſible propoſal of allowing their repreſentatives a ſeat in parliament, in order to regulate, in conjunction with thoſe of the mother country, the taxes to be raiſed by the nation at large. Such, indeed, is the extent, populouſneſs, wealth, and importance, of the colonies, that the legiſlature cannot govern them with wiſdom and ſafety without availing itſelf of the advice and information of their repreſentatives. But care ſhould be taken not to authoriſe theſe deputies to decide in matters concerning the fortune and the contributions of their conſtituents. The expoſtulations of a few men would be eaſily overborne by the numerous repreſentatives of the mother country; and the provinces, whoſe inſtruments they would be, would, in this confuſed jumble of intereſts and opinions, be laden with too heavy and too unequal a

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part of the common burden. Let, then, the right of appointing, proportioning, and raiſing the taxes, continue to be excluſively veſted in the provincial aſſemblies; who ought to be the more jealous of it at the preſent juncture, as the power of depriving them of it ſeems to have gained ſtrength by the conqueſts made in the laſt war.

From its late acquiſitions, the mother country has derived the advantage of extending her fiſheries, and ſtrengthening her alliance with the ſavages. But as if this ſucceſs paſſed for nothing in her eſtimation, ſhe perſiſts in declaring, that this increaſe of territory has anſwered no end, and produced no effect, but to ſecure the tranquillity of the colonies: The colonies, on the contrary, maintain, that their lands, on which their whole welfare depended, have decreaſed conſiderably in their value by this immenſe extent of territory; that, their population being diminiſhed, or at leaſt not increaſed, their country is the more expoſed to invaſions; and that the moſt northern provinces are rivalled by Canada, and the moſt ſouthern by Florida. The coloniſts, who judge of future events by the hiſtory of the paſt, even go ſo far as to ſay, that the military government eſtabliſhed in the conquered provinces, the numerous troops maintained, and the forts erected there, may one day contribute to enſlave countries which have hitherto flouriſhed only upon the principles of liberty.

Great Britain poſſeſſes all the authority over her colonies that ſhe ought to wiſh for. She has a right to diſannul any laws they ſhall make. The executive power is entirely lodged in the hands of her delegates; and in all determinations of a civil nature, an appeal lies to her tribunal. She regulates at diſcretion all commercial connections, which are allowed to be formed and purſued by the coloniſts. To ſtrain an authority ſo wiſely tempered, would be to plunge a riſing continent afreſh into that ſtate of confuſion from which it had with difficulty emerged in

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the courſe of two centuries of inceſſant labour ; and to reduce the men, who had laboured to clear the ground, to the neceſſity of taking up arms in the defence of thoſe ſacred rights to which they are equally entitled by nature and the laws of ſociety. Shall the Britiſh, who are ſo paſſionately fond of liberty, that they have ſometimes protected it in regions widely remote in climate and intereſt, forget thoſe ſentiments, which their glory, their virtue, their natural feelings, and their ſecurity, conſpire to render a perpetual obligation ? Shall they ſo far betray the rights they hold ſo dear, as to wiſh to enſlave their brethren and their children ? If, however, it ſhould happen, that the ſpirit of faction ſhould deviſe ſo fatal a deſign, and ſhould, in an hour of madneſs and intoxication, get it patronized by the mother country, what ſteps ought the colonies to take to ſave themſelves from the ſtate of the moſt odious dependence ?

3. *How far the colonies ought to carry their oppoſition to taxation.*

Before they turn their eyes on this political combuſtion, they will recall to memory all the advantages they owe to their country. Britain has always been their barrier againſt the powerful nations of Europe ; and ſerved as a guide and moderator to watch over their preſervation, and to heal thoſe civil diſſentions which jealouſy and rivalſhip too frequently excite between neighbouring plantations in their riſing ſtate. It is to the influence of its excellent conſtitution that they owe the peace and proſperity they enjoy. While the colonies live under ſo ſalutary and mild an adminiſtration, they will continue to make a rapid progreſs in the vaſt field of improvement that opens itſelf to their view, and which their induſtry will extend to the remoteſt deſerts.

Let the love of their country, however, be accompanied with a certain jealouſy of their liberties ; and let their rights be conſtantly examined into, cleared

up,

up, and diſcuſſed. Let them never fail to conſider thoſe as the beſt citizens, who are perpetually calling their attention to thoſe points. This ſpirit of jealouſy is proper in all free ſtates; but it is particularly neceſſary in complicated governments, where liberty is blended with a certain degree of dependence, ſuch as is required in a connection between countries ſeparated by an immenſe ocean. This vigilance will be the ſureſt guardian of the union which ought ſtrongly to cement the mother country and her colonies.

If the miniſtry, which is always compoſed of ambitious men, even in a free ſtate, ſhould attempt to increaſe the power of the crown, or the opulence of the mother country, at the expence of the colonies, the colonies ought to reſiſt ſuch an uſurping power with unremitted ſpirit. When any meaſure of government meets with a warm oppoſition, it ſeldom fails to be rectified; while grievances, which are ſuffered for want of courage to redreſs them, are conſtantly ſucceeded by freſh inſtances of oppreſſion. Nations, in general, are more apt to feel than to reflect; and have no other ideas of the legality of a power than the very exerciſe of that power. Accuſtomed to obey without examination, they in general become familiarized to the hardſhips of government; and, being ignorant of the origin and deſign of ſociety, do not conceive the idea of ſetting bounds to authority. In thoſe ſtates eſpecially, where the principles of legiſlation are confounded with thoſe of religion, as one extravagant opinion opens the door for the reception of a thouſand among thoſe who have been once deceived, ſo the firſt encroachments of government pave the way for all the reſt. He who believes the moſt, believes the leaſt; and he who can perform the moſt, performs the leaſt: and to this double miſtake, in regard either to belief or power, it is owing, that all the abſurdities and ill practices in religion and politics have been introduced into the world, in order to oppreſs the human ſpecies. The ſpirit of toleration and of liberty which has hitherto

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prevailed in the Britiſh colonies, has happily preſerved them from falling into this extreme of folly and miſery. They have too high a ſenſe of the dignity of human nature not to reſiſt oppreſſion, though at the hazard of their lives.

A people ſo intelligent do not want to be told, that deſperate reſolutions and violent meaſures cannot be juſtifiable till they have in vain tried every poſſible method of reconciliation. But, at the ſame time, they know, that, if they are reduced to the neceſſity of chuſing ſlavery or war, and taking arms in defence of their liberty, they ought not to tarniſh ſo glorious a cauſe with all the horrors and cruelties attendant on ſedition; and, though reſolved not to ſheath the ſword till they have recovered their rights, that they ſhould make no other uſe of their victory than to procure the re-eſtabliſhment of their original ſtate of legal independence.

Let us, however, take care not to confound the reſiſtance which the Britiſh colonies ought to make to their mother country, with the fury of a people excited to revolt againſt their ſovereign by a long ſeries of exceſſive oppreſſion. When the ſlaves of an arbitrary monarch have once broken their chain, and ſubmitted their fate to the deciſion of the ſword, they are obliged to maſſacre the tyrant, to exterminate his whole race, and to change the form of that government under which they have ſuffered for many ages. If they venture not thus far, they will ſooner or later be puniſhed for having been courageous only by halves. The blow will be retorted upon them with greater force than ever; and the affected clemency of their tyrants will only prove a new ſnare, in which they will be caught and entangled without hope of deliverance. It is the misfortune of factions in an abſolute government, that neither prince nor people ſet any bounds to their reſentment; becauſe they know none in the exerciſe of their power. But a conſtitution qualified like that of the Britiſh colonies, carries in its principles and the limitation of

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its power a remedy and preſervative againſt the evils of anarchy. When the mother country has removed their complaints by reinſtating them in their former ſituation, they ought to proceed no further; becauſe ſuch a ſituation is the happieſt that a wiſe people have a right to aſpire to.

4. *Whether it would be of uſe to the Colonies to break through the ties which unite them to the mother country.*

They could not embrace a plan of abſolute independence, without breaking thro' the ties of religion, oaths, laws, language, relation, intereſt, trade, and habit, which unite them together under the mild authority of the mother country. Is it to be imagined that ſuch an avulſion would not affect the heart, the vitals, and even the life, of the colonies? If they ſhould ſtop ſhort of the violence of civil wars, would they eaſily be brought to agree upon a new form of government? If each ſettlement compoſed a diſtinct ſtate, what diviſions would enſue! We may judge of the animoſities that would ariſe from their ſeparation by the fate of all communities which nature has made to border on each other. But, could it be ſuppoſed that ſo many ſettlements, where a diverſity of laws, different degrees of opulence, and variety of poſſeſſions, would ſow the latent ſeeds of an oppoſition of intereſts, were deſirous of forming a confedracy; how would they adjuſt the rank which each would aſpire to hold, and the influence it ought to have, in proportion to the riſk it incurred, and the forces it ſupplied? Would not the ſame ſpirit of jealouſy, and a thouſand other paſſions, which in a ſhort time divided the wiſe ſtates of Greece, raiſe diſcord between a multitude of colonies aſſociated rather by the tranſient and brittle ties of paſſion and reſentment, than by the ſober principles of a natural and laſting combination? All theſe conſiderations

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ſeem to demonſtrate, that an eternal ſeparation from the mother country would prove a very great miſfortune to the Britiſh colonies.

5. *Whether it would be proper for the European nations to endeavour to render the Britiſh colonies independent of the mother country.*

We will go one ſtep further, and affirm, that, were it in the power of the European nations who have poſſeſſions in the new world, to effect this great revolution, it is not their intereſt to wiſh it. This will, perhaps, be thought a paradox by thoſe powers, who ſee their colonies perpetually threatened with an invaſion from their neighbours. They, doubtleſs, imagine, that if the power of the Britiſh in America were leſſened, they ſhould peaceably enjoy their acquiſitions, which frequently excite their envy, and invite them to hoſtilities. It cannot be denied, that their influence in theſe diſtant regions ariſes from the extent or populouſneſs of their northern provinces; which enable them always to attack with advantage the iſlands and continental poſſeſſions of other nations, to conquer their territories, or ruin their trade. But, after all, this crown has intereſts in other parts of the globe which may counteract their progreſs in America, reſtrain or retard their enterprizes, and fruſtrate their conqueſts by the reſtitutions they will be obliged to make.

When the ties ſubſiſting between old and new Britain are once broken, the northern colonies will have more power when ſingle, than when united with the mother country. This great continent, freed with all connections with Europe, will have the full command of all its motions. It will then become an important as well as an eaſy undertaking to them, to invade thoſe territories whoſe riches will make amends for the ſcantineſs of their productions. By the independent nature of its ſituation, it will be enabled to get

get every thing in readineſs for an invaſion, before any account arrives in Europe. This nation will carry on their military operations with the ſpirit peculiar to new ſocieties. They may make choice of their enemies, and conquer where and when they pleaſe. Their attacks will always be made upon ſuch coaſts as are liable to be taken by ſurpriſe, and upon thoſe ſeas that are leaſt guarded by foreign powers; who will find the countries they wiſhed to defend conquered before any ſuccours can arrive. It will be impoſſible to recover them by treaty, without making great conceſſions; or, when recovered for a time, to prevent their falling again under the ſame yoke. The colonies belonging to our abſolute monarchies, will, perhaps, be inclined to meet a maſter with open arms, who cannot propoſe harder terms than their own government impoſes; or, after the example of the Britiſh colonies, will break the chain that rivets them ſo ignominiouſly to Europe.

Let no motive by any means prevail upon the nations who are rivals to Britain, either by inſinuations, or by clandeſtine helps, to haſten a revolution, which would only deliver them from a neighbouring enemy, by giving them a much more formidable one at a diſtance. Why accelerate an event which muſt one day naturally take place from the unavoidable concurrence of ſo many others? For it would be contrary to the nature of things, if the province, ſubject to a preſiding nation, ſhould continue under its dominion, when equal to it in riches and the number of inhabitants. Or, indeed, who can tell whether this diſunion may not happen ſooner? Is it not likely, that the diſtruſt and hatred which have of late taken place of that regard and attachment which the provinces formerly felt for the parent country, may bring on a ſeparation? Thus every thing conſpires to produce this great diſruption, the æra of which it is impoſſible to know. Every thing tends to this point; the progreſs of good in the new hemiſphere, and the progreſs of evil in the old.

Alas! the ſudden and rapid decline in our manners and our powers, the crimes of princes, and the ſufferings of the people, will make this fatal cataſtrophe, which is to divide one part of the globe from the other, univerſal. The foundations of our tottering empires are ſapped; materials are hourly collecting and preparing for their deſtruction, compoſed of the ruins of our laws, the ferment of contending opinions, and the ſubverſion of our rights which were the foundation of our courage; the luxury of our courts, and the miſeries of the country; the laſting animoſity between indolent men who engroſs all the wealth, and vigorous and even virtuous men who have nothing to loſe but their lives. In proportion as our people are weakened and reſign themſelves to each other's dominion, population and agriculture will flouriſh in America: the arts, tranſplanted by our means, will make a rapid progreſs; and that country, riſing out of nothing, will be fired with the ambition of appearing with glory, in its turn, on the face of the globe, and in the hiſtory of the world. O poſterity! ye, peradventure, will be more happy than your unfortunate and contemptible anceſtors. May this laſt wiſh be accompliſhed, and conſole the preſent expiring race with the hopes that a better will ſucceed it?

END *of the* HISTORY *of the* BRITISH SETTLEMENTS *in* AMERICA.

AN

AN IMPARTIAL HISTORY OF THE PRESENT WAR IN AMERICA.

INTRODUCTION.

IN writing hiſtory of every kind, there is nothing more to be commended than impartiality; and ſcarce any thing is more difficult to be obſerved. It is hardly poſſible for the hiſtorian to avoid intereſting himſelf on that ſide which appears the moſt juſt and equitable. When this is done, the paſſions, natural to all mankind, will prompt him to repreſent the other party in colours perhaps much blacker than they deſerve; or may even ſo far prevail, as to cauſe him miſrepreſent facts, and derive them from motives never thought of by thoſe whoſe hiſtory he writes. This is particularly the caſe in writing the hiſtory of a civil war, eſpecially by a native of the country where that war is carried on. There are few people deſtitute of affection for their native country; indeed it is in a manner impoſſible that any perſon ſhould be ſo, except thoſe who have totally caſt off all pretenſions to humanity. Every attack, therefore, on any man's country, is neceſſarily conſidered by him as an attack upon himſelf. If a war unhap-

pily breaks out in that country, it is impoſſible to ſtand neuter. Some part or other muſt be choſen by every one. An attack then upon the party which a man chooſes is an attack upon himſelf; and when an hiſtorian writes the hiſtory of ſuch a war, his book muſt neceſſarily be conſidered as a kind of judgment in his own cauſe.

The annals of hiſtory can ſcarce afford ſtronger inſtances of this kind of partiality than the preſent conteſt with the Americans. It hath been diſputed, Whether the people who are at war with the King are in *rebellion* againſt him or not? According to the diſpoſition of the diſputants, the very ſame facts have been repreſented in the moſt oppoſite lights.

If one is any how connected with the miniſtry, hath a place under the government, or hath any friends that are ſo; with him, the Americans are rebels, traitors, and utterly deſtitute of every good principle. On the other hand, if the diſputant, or the writer, is any how diſcontented with the public management of affairs at preſent; with him, the Americans are an injured and oppreſſed People, making the moſt glorious ſtruggles for Liberty, againſt a wicked and tyrannical Miniſtry.

Notwithſtanding the difficulty, however, which I have juſt now ſtated, I think it is ſtill poſſible for an hiſtorian to be abſolutely impartial, even when he relates matters reſpecting his own country. This may eaſily be done, by laying down ſome maxim or firſt principle known to be juſt; by comparing of which with the actions of thoſe he writes, they may be certainly known to be right or wrong. In the following abſtract of the Hiſtory of this very important and intereſting War, I ſhall only lay down the following principle, which ſurely can be denied by nobody; viz. "That Peace is always preferable to War, where it can be obtained upon honourable Terms." By ſtedfaſtly keeping in view this principle, I hope to avoid the invectives which have been ſo liberally beſtowed on both ſides: And though I

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am afraid we muſt at laſt conclude the Americans to have been the offending party, I believe they have not been guilty of any offence but what other men would have committed, had they been in their places.

The ſtate of mankind in this world renders quarrels, both public and private, abſolutely unavoidable. That nation, or that individual, doth not exiſt, who hath not quarrelled with another. From the exiſtence of a war between two nations, therefore, we ought not to imagine that either of them are compoſed of worſe men, or led by worſe men than the other. We can only conclude this, when one offers an honourable peace, and the other refuſes. The latter is then undoubtedly to be blamed; and the leading men of it are deſervedly to be characteriſed as wicked and infamous perſons.

CHAP. I.

Origin and Progreſs of the Diſcontents in America, till the commencement of Hoſtilities in 1775.

THE origin of the preſent war is to be traced from two paſſions deeply rooted in every human breaſt; namely, a love of power over others, and a love of freedom and independency for ourſelves. I ſhall not enter into a diſquiſition how far it is allowable to follow either of theſe paſſions. Certain it is, that, in ſome caſes, both of them are not only lawful, but neceſſary; and conſidering matters in this light, we may readily excuſe the Britiſh miniſtry for deſiring to keep the colonies in ſubjection, as well as the colonies for ſhewing a deſire to ſhake off the yoke.

This ſpirit of Independency began to ſhew itſelf in the Britiſh colonies almoſt from their firſt foundation; and ſome of them diſputed the ſovereignty of the mother country as early as the reign of King Charles II. At that time, it was only the want of ſtrength in the infant colonies, that prevented the

flame from breaking out with the ſame violence as now. With regard to the queſtion of right in this caſe, it can ſcarce be denied, That people who are protected by any government, ought to be ſubject to that government by which they are protected. The caſe is here as plain as between a parent and a child. But whether the ſubjection ought ſtill to continue as great on the part of the coloniſts after they are become able to defend themſelves, may perhaps bear a diſpute. Certain it is, that the Britiſh miniſtry have all along inſiſted on their abſolute ſubmiſſion to the will of parliament; and the Americans have as obſtinately inſiſted on being treated as an Independent ſtate, without owning the leaſt ſubjection to the Britiſh legiſlature.

In this way, matters proceeded for a very conſiderable time. The Britiſh legiſlature made ſeveral acts, declaring the Americans to be ſubject in the moſt unlimited manner to parliament. Theſe were by the other party either taken no notice of, or diſregarded when the authority of parliament ſeemed to claſh with the intereſt of the colonies. In the year 1754, however, matters came to a criſis. The French were then making ſuch encroachments as threatened the utter ruin of the Britiſh colonies, if not ſpeedily put a ſtop to. It was therefore neceſſary, that money ſhould be levied through the different colonies for the defence of the whole. The queſtion was, By what power it was to be raiſed? If the governors of Great Britain were alſo the governors of America, it is plain this money was to be levied by the authority of the Britiſh legiſlature; but, if otherwiſe, no doubt the Americans themſelves were the proper perſons. To ſettle this very important point, commiſſioners from a number of the colonies were appointed to meet at Albany in the province of New York. At this meeting, it was agreed, that a grand council ſhould be choſen by the different aſſemblies, and ſent from all the colonies; and that this council, together with a governor-general appointed by

by the Crown, ſhould be impowered to make laws for raiſing money throughout the whole continent. This plan was ſent to England for the approbation of the Britiſh miniſtry. By them it was rejected, and a new one formed in its ſtead. It was now propoſed, that an aſſembly ſhould be formed, not of the *repreſentatives* of the American people in their provincial aſſemblies, but of their *governors*, attended by one or two of their council. Theſe were to concert meaſures for the good of the whole, erect forts wherever they pleaſed, and raiſe what troops they thought neceſſary. To defray their expences they had power to draw on the Britiſh treaſury; and the ſums ſo drawn were to be reimburſed by a tax laid on the colonies by act of parliament.

It is ſcarce neceſſary to obſerve that this propoſal was rejected by the Americans. Theſe two ſchemes were in fact a declaration of war between Britain and her colonies. The Americans required total independency. Had their ſcheme been liſtened to, no act of the Britiſh legiſlature could poſſibly have affected them. They were ſubject to the ſame King indeed, but they were only a nation in alliance with Britain; and no more in ſubjection to it than Scotland was to England before the union. On the other hand, had the miniſterial plan been followed, it is plain that the Americans were in the moſt perfect ſubjection to the mother country; as the miniſtry could lay upon them what taxes they pleaſed, raiſe what forces they had a mind, and make what uſe they thought proper of theſe forces. Theſe conſequences it was impoſſible to avoid; for the governor, of whom the ſupreme council above mentioned was to be compoſed, being all ſervants of the Crown, it is not to be ſuppoſed that they would ever have the intereſt of the country ſo much at heart as they would have the keeping in with the Britiſh miniſtry who could turn them out of their places at pleaſure.

In this ſituation were matters at the beginning of the laſt war with France; and no ſooner was it ended

than the diſputes between Britain and her colonies were renewed with freſh vigour. Though the Americans had, by rejecting the miniſterial ſcheme above mentioned, utterly denied the authority of the Britiſh legiſlature to tax them, the idea of their being poſſeſſed of this power was ſtill held by the miniſtry. They were at this time alſo in a manner compelled to follow the meaſures they did. The nation was exhauſted by a long and expenſive war. Many millions of debt had been contracted, and an increaſe of territory, without any addition of revenue to enable the nation to defend it, was a burden rather than an advantage. The flouriſhing ſtate of the American colonies made them at that time a deſireable object; and accordingly, in 1764, a new tax was laid upon America to the amount of L. 341,377. This was to be raiſed by new impoſts and duties on the American trade; and, though the taxes were laid chiefly upon articles of luxury, it gave great offence to the coloniſts. But they were much more chagrined by another act which reſtrained them from exporting their ſuperfluous commodities to the French and Spaniſh ſettlements. A contraband trade of this kind had been carried on till now, and was of great ſervice to all parties concerned, though forbid by the laws of France and Spain. The total ſtoppage of this trade proved a more grievous ſtroke to the Americans than almoſt any tax that could be laid upon them. The reaſon was this. Though a mutual exchange of goods took place between Britain and America, yet the balance was always greatly in favour of the former, and conſequently the Americans were conſtantly indebted to the merchants of this country. This balance was to be paid in caſh, and there was a neceſſity for them to procure this ſomewhere. Their country does not produce gold or ſilver; and if they were totally prohibited from trading with any other nation than Britain, it was impoſſible they could have any money at all. We cannot blame the miniſtry for putting a ſtop to this trade with the French and Spaniſh

niſh colonies which was diſagreeable to their mother countries; but ſome method of removing ſo great an inconvenience as that above-mentioned ought undoubtedly to have been tried. The method of putting the law in execution gave ſtill greater offence. A number of armed cutters were fitted out and ſtationed on the coaſts of America to prevent this contraband trade; and the captains of theſe cutters were to act in the character of revenue officers, and to determine what ſhips were liable to the penalties of the act, and what were not. It can ſcarce be imagined but theſe captains would frequently detain ſhips unjuſtly; and when a lawful trader was injured, it was not eaſy to obtain redreſs. The Lords of the Admiralty, or of the Treaſury in England could only remove the grievance; but conſidering the diſtance of place, and the manner of application, the whole trade might have been ruined before redreſs could have been obtained. Great diſturbances were occaſioned by this law, many acts of violence were committed, and both parties repreſented the injuries they ſuffered with the utmoſt acrimony and aggravation.

Another hardſhip on the Americans was the obliging them to make payment in ſpecie to the Exchequer of the duty upon ſuch goods as they were allowed to trade in. This was a method of draining the whole money from the colonies, and leaving them nothing for circulation; and what was ſtill worſe, another bill was preferred two weeks after, by which it was declared that no paper bills ſhould be a legal tender for payment of any kind; and that ſuch bills as were already paſſed, ſhould after a limited time be called in and ſunk. As a kind of balance to this law, however, ſeveral others were enacted at the ſame time, which it was hoped would be of ſervice to the colonies. Theſe were, a bill to grant leave for a limited time to carry rice from the provinces of South Carolina and Georgia to other parts of America on paying Britiſh duties; an act for granting a bounty upon the importation of hemp, and rough undreſſed flax,

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from the American colonies into Great Britain; and another to encourage the whale fiſhery on their coaſts. But as theſe laws muſt neceſſarily have exiſted for a conſiderable time before any benefit could reſult from them, and the evil conſequences of the other were preſent and urgent, no notice was taken of theſe ſalutary laws; and the Americans regarded the Britiſh miniſtry only as their oppreſſors.

The natural way in which the reſentment of the colonies now operated was in reſolutions to encourage manufactures among themſelves, that ſo they might become in ſome meaſure independent of the mother country. Aſſociations were entered into for this purpoſe, and the uſual quantity of manufactures not being taken from Britain, great numbers of thoſe employed in them were deprived of employment and rendered uſeleſs to the public. The ſtagnation in trade occaſioned by theſe proceedings was alſo ſeverely felt both on this ſide of the Atlantic and on the other.

While the ferment, raiſed by the laws already mentioned, ſtill continued in full force, another bill was paſſed, more obnoxious to the coloniſts than all the reſt. By this, 53 different ſorts of ſtamps and other duties were laid upon the American colonies, many of them very heavy, and which were conſidered as highly oppreſſive and burdenſome. Againſt this bill petitions were given in by the agents for ſome of the colonies, and it met with much oppoſition in parliament. At laſt, however, it was paſſed into a law; and the miniſtry hoped, that though ſome clamours might be raiſed againſt it at firſt, the Americans would ſoon be content to ſubmit. Experience ſhewed that they were deceived. The news of its being paſſed reached New England firſt, and there occaſioned the greateſt diſturbances. The ſhips in the harbour hung out their colours half maſt high, in token of deep mourning; the bells were muffled; the act was printed with a death's head to it, in the place where it was cuſtomary to affix the new acts of parliament, and called publicly about the ſtreets

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by the name of the *Folly of England*, and the *Ruin of America*. Papers and pamphlets without number were wrote on the ſubject; and by the time the act had reached America, the people were wrought up to the higheſt pitch of averſion againſt it, and treated it with the utmoſt contempt. In many places this hated act was publicly burnt, together with the effigies of the firſt promoters of it, who, had they been preſent, would probably have ſhared the ſame fate. In ſhort the diſcontent was ſo great, that when the news of it arrived in England, there were few maſters of ſhips to be found that would venture to carry over any ſtamped paper to the continent. Such as were ſo hardy as to do ſo, were obliged to deliver up their cargoes into the hands of the enraged populace, who committed it to the flames; or to take ſhelter under ſuch of the king's ſhips as happened to be neareſt to protect them. Thoſe who came over to collect the revenue were treated in the ſevereſt manner; and the gentlemen who deſigned to act as diſtributors of the ſtamps were made ſorely to repent their having any concern in the matter. Many of them were made to renounce upon oath all manner of concern in the ſtamps; others wiſely returned to the places from whence they came; while thoſe who ſtrenuouſly perſiſted in attempting to put the act in execution, were treated as enemies of the country, had their houſes plundered, their effects deſtroyed, &c. Some of the colonies indeed ſubmitted to this law; but when ſhips arrived from any of theſe to the refractory ones, the ſtamps they brought along with them for their own vindication at the cuſtom-houſe were ſeized, ſtuck up in taverns and coffee-houſes by way of ſcorn, and afterwards burnt. In this behaviour the Americans were privately encouraged by the leaders of the oppoſition in that country; and ſome of them advertiſed publicly that they were reſolved to pay no duties but what were laid on by their own repreſentatives. This was ſoon avowed by the provincial aſſemblies. Inſtead

ſtead of endeavouring to ſuppreſs the riotous behaviour of the common people, they began to patronize it; and affirmed, that if there were any diſorders committed, thoſe were chargeable with them who endeavoured to promote ſo unconſtitutional a law. At laſt they came to a reſolution to petition the Britiſh legiſlature againſt the ſtamp act. They pleaded their incapacity to pay any ſuch tax as was now impoſed upon them; but at the ſame time they never owned that they were at all ſubject to parliamentary authority; and this rendered their petition offenſive to the majority.

At this time, however, the coloniſts began to take more effectual meaſures for oppoſing the ſtamp act. They formed aſſociations, and appointed committees for the ſake of a general correſpondence throughout the whole continent. From theſe committees deputies were appointed to meet in congreſs at New York; and when theſe deputies met, they were found to be ſo unanimous in their ſentiments, that they had little more to do than congratulate one another, and ſet their hands to one general declaration of their rights, and the grievances they laboured under, and to a petition, expreſſing a ſenſe of their grievances to the King, Lords, and Commons of Britain. In a ſhort time even thoſe whoſe intereſt ſeemed to ly moſt on the oppoſite ſide, began to join the diſcontented people. The juſtices of Weſtmoreland in Virginia gave public notice that they had reſigned their offices, and even the lawyers choſe rather to give up their buſineſs than to write on ſtamped paper. Before the firſt of November 1765, when the act was to take place, there was not a ſheet of ſtamped paper to be found throughout the whole colonies of New England, New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvannia, Virginia, Maryland, or the two Carolinas, except a parcel at New York, which the governor was obliged to deliver up to the corporation, on condition that it ſhould not be deſtroyed like the reſt. Thus all buſineſs that could not be carried on without ſtamps,

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was put entirely to a ſtand, except news-papers, which the printers, for fear of the populace, were obliged to continue without ſtamps. But in Canada where ſtamps were uſed, the printers were in a worſe condition; for few or none would buy a news-paper on account of its being ſtamped; and the whole lay upon their hands. The courts of juſtice were now ſhut up as well as the ports; and even in thoſe colonies where ſtamps were uſed, the people of the beſt rank ſubmitted to be called in churches rather than take out licences for private marriages. The evil conſequences of the total ſtagnation in buſineſs which now took place, ſoon began to be felt ſeverely; but the coloniſts ſeemed determined to ſuffer any thing rather than ſubmit. Some curious expedients, however, were tried to evade the influence of this new law; and among others, the bark of a tree was diſcovered which might be uſed as a ſuccedaneum for paper. It was ſent to the printers at Boſton for their approbation; and as it was neither paper, parchment, nor vellum, the diſcoverer wanted to know whether deeds written upon this bark might not be valid though they were not ſtamped. The moſt effectual method of oppoſing theſe obnoxious acts, however, was the following: The merchants throughout all the colonies entered into the moſt ſolemn engagements, to order no more goods from Great Britain, whatever ſhould be the conſequence, and to recal the orders they had already given, if not executed before the firſt of January 1766; and they further reſolved not to diſpoſe of any Britiſh goods ſent them upon commiſſion, that were not ſhipped before that time; or if they conſented to any relaxation from theſe engagements, it was not to take place till after the ſtamp-act and ſome other obnoxious ones were repealed. It was reſolved at Philadelphia by a great majority, that till ſuch a repeal ſhould happen, no lawyer ſhould be put in ſuit for a demand for money, owing by a reſident in America to any one in England, nor any perſon in America, however

ever indebted to England, make any remittances there. This reſolution was adopted by the retailers, who unanimouſly agreed not to buy any more Engliſh goods ſhipped contrary to theſe reſolutions.

This controverſy, in the mean time was of great advantage to Ireland. What goods the Americans could not poſſibly want they ordered from that country, in exchange for their hemp and flax ſeed, of which they exported a great quantity annually. They did not fail, however, to take meaſures at the ſame time for freeing themſelves from this dependance upon other nations for the neceſſaries of life. A ſociety of arts, manufactures, and commerce was inſtituted at New York, in imitation of that of London, and markets were opened for the ſale of home-made manufactures. Many reſolutions were formed in order to encourage theſe manufactures, and in a ſhort time it became very probable that the American colonies would be able to ſupply themſelves with all the neceſſaries of life. They next reſolved to ſtop the exportation of tobacco from Virginia and South Carolina to Great Britain; and conſidering the vaſt quantities of that article which are conſumed in the iſland, or re-exported from it to other countries, ſuch a reſolution could not fail greatly to affect both the Britiſh trade and revenue.

The conſequences of theſe reſolutions were leſs felt by the Americans than the inhabitants of Britain. The former were already in poſſeſſion of large quantities of Britiſh goods, and enjoyed an extenſive country abounding with many of the neceſſaries of life. The latter were diſtreſſed by the ſtagnation of their trade. The Americans were indebted to Britiſh merchants upwards of four millions Sterling for goods they had already received, and which they were neither able nor willing to pay; and the want of this money proved ruinous to many. At laſt, it was ſeen to be neceſſary, either to enforce the execution of the ſtamp act by a military power, or to repeal it altogether. The latter opinion prevailed in

parliament,

parliament, and the act was repealed, but ſome others equally obnoxious to the Americans were left.

It may eaſily be imagined that the repeal of one obnoxious law could only procure a temporary tranquillity; and the Americans having as they imagined, gained a victory over the Britiſh miniſtry, would not fail to exult in it, and become more untractable afterwards. This accordingly happened; for though the obnoxious acts were repealed in 1770, yet the leaving of a ſingle duty of 3 d. a pound on tea imported from Britain into America, was doomed to be the fatal bone of contention between the mother country and her colonies. This, it muſt be confeſſed, will at firſt ſight ſeem to be a very ſlight cauſe for embroiling themſelves in ſuch a dangerous ſcheme. But we muſt conſider, that the Americans having once begun to contend for what they imagined to be their liberties, could not retract. The power of parliament to tax them in any manner of way whatever, was what they utterly denied. The preſent tax was indeed very trifling, but if parliament was allowed to tax them in one article they might do ſo in every other; and thus, as the Americans thought, reduce them to ſlavery, by taking their property without any conſent given on their part either by themſelves or repreſentatives.

It would be tedious, indeed impoſſible, to enumerate all the ways in which the diſcontent of the people now ſhowed itſelf. Numberleſs mobs, tumults, and riots were excited. Reſolutions were entered into throughout moſt of the colonies againſt the uſe of Eaſt India tea, and whoever was ſo hardy as to ſtand out againſt the general voice was ſoon convinced of his error by tarring and feathering. It appears, however, that at this time, and probably long before, the colonies had deſigned to aſſert their independence. This ſeems probable from the extreme obſtinacy with which they always reſiſted the leaſt appearance of ſubjection to parliamentary authority, and the readineſs with which they entered

into reſolutions againſt importing any Britiſh goods, though they ſtood ever ſo much in need of them. Theſe reſolutions were now entered into more than ever, and a ſpirit of unanimity very ſurpriſing in modern ages pervaded the whole continent. The governors, in the mean time, were in a perpetual ſtate of war with their people. Aſſemblies were repeatedly called, and ſuddenly diſſolved; and during the ſhort time they ſat, their time was wholly taken up in recounting their grievances, and framing remonſtrances. The tea-bill was conſidered merely as a ſcheme to delude them into a compliance with the revenue laws, and to open the door for unlimited taxation. It was eaſily ſeen, that if once the tea was landed, and lodged in the hands of the conſignees appointed by the Eaſt India company to receive it, no effectual method whatever could be fallen upon to hinder its ſale and conſumption. It was therefore judged neceſſary to prevent any Eaſt India tea from being landed on the continent. The tea conſignees, who had been appointed by the Eaſt India company, were obliged in moſt places to relinquiſh their appointments, and to enter into public engagements not to act in that capacity. Committees were appointed by the people in different towns, to whom they delegated powers which they themſelves could not legally beſtow. Theſe committees were authorized to inſpect merchants books; to propoſe teſts; to puniſh ſuch as they thought contumacious, by declaring them enemies to the liberties of America, and to aſſemble the people as often as they ſaw occaſion. In ſuch tumultuous aſſemblies, it was impoſſible but every thing muſt have been carried on in the moſt violent manner. Inflammatory hand-bills and other ſeditious papers were continually publiſhed throughout all the colonies; it was at Boſton, however, that the firſt outrage was committed, and which ſeemed to bring matters to a criſis ſooner than they otherwiſe would have been. The inhabitants of this town had long been obnoxious to government

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on account of their remarkable obſtinacy in reſiſting all manner of parliamentary authority. On the preſent occaſion they did not fail to exert themſelves in their uſual manner. Three ſhips laden with tea having arrived in the port of Boſton, the captains were treated in ſuch a manner that they promiſed to return with their cargoes to England, provided they were permitted by the conſignees, the board of cuſtoms, and the fort of caſtle William. Theſe conceſſions, however, could not be obtained. The conſignees refuſed to diſcharge the captains from the obligations under which they were chartered for the delivery of their cargoes; the cuſtom-houſe refuſed them a clearance for their return; and the governor to grant them a paſſport for clearing the fort. In this ſituation the Boſtonians eaſily ſaw, that if the ſhips were ſuffered to ly ſo near, it would be impoſſible for them, with all their precautions, to prevent the tea from being landed by degrees, and if it was once landed, it would be equally impoſſible to prevent it from being diſpoſed of. For theſe reaſons, a number of armed men, diſguiſed like Mohawk Indians, boarded the ſhips, and threw their whole cargoes of tea into the ſea, without doing any other damage, or offering any injury to the captains or crews. This happened on the 18th of December 1773, and it was remarkable, that no attempt was made to preſerve the tea from being deſtroyed, either by the civil government, the garriſon of Fort William, or the armed ſhips in the harbour. Some ſmaller quantities of tea met with the ſame fate at Boſton and other places. But, in general, the commiſſioners for the ſale of that commodity, having been obliged to relinquiſh their employment, and no other perſons daring to receive the cargoes conſigned to them, the maſters of the tea-veſſels knowing their danger, and the determined reſolution of the people, readily complied with the terms preſcribed them, of returning to England immediately, without entangling themſelves by an entry at the cuſtom-houſes.

Matters being now brought to ſuch a paſs, that either Britain muſt ſubmit to her colonies, or the colonies to her, it was reſolved in parliament, to take the moſt effectual meaſures for puniſhing the ſeditious ſpirit of the Americans, and reducing them to what was thought their duty, but what they themſelves called ſlavery. For this purpoſe, ſeveral laws were paſſed, the moſt remarkable of which was an act for ſhutting up the port of Boſton after the firſt of June 1774. This meaſure it was hoped would prove the means of dividing the councils of the Americans, and putting a ſtop to that unanimity which threatened to give the mother country ſo much trouble. It was expected, that the ſhutting up this port would naturally prove a gratification to the neighbouring towns that were rivals in commerce to Boſton. It was alſo thought that this puniſhment, inflicted on a particular province, would prove a terror to the reſt. Theſe opinions, however, ſhewed a great degree of weakneſs in the judgement of the Miniſtry. It might eaſily have been ſeen, that people ſo ready to reſiſt the ſmalleſt encroachments of parliamentary authority, would be irritated to the laſt degree by ſuch an exertion of it, as to ſhut up and ſtop all the commerce of one of their principal ports. They muſt now conſider themſelves as abſolute ſlaves to Britain; and were the parliament to paſs an act for taking away their lives, as well as their commerce, ſubmiſſion muſt be thought their duty. On the other hand, it was certainly very hard for the Miniſtry, or indeed any body elſe, to know what was proper to be done. To have yielded at once, and let the Americans enjoy abſolute independency, would, no doubt, have been accounted a piece of weakneſs, and reflected great diſhonour on the Britiſh nation; and it was now plain, that unleſs this independency was in effect granted, no other terms would be complied with on their part. Perhaps the beſt method would have been at this time, to have declared them rebels, and attacked them vigorouſly with a force they could

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not poſſibly reſiſt. This would have quaſhed the rebellion (for ſuch it then was, as much as now) at once, and in all human probability, with much leſs bloodſhed than has happened ſince that time. Two things, however, ſeem to have hindered this meaſure; the one, the ſtrength of oppoſition to Miniſterial counſels at home; and the other, an ill-grounded opinion of the cowardice, or weakneſs of the Americans. This laſt opinion ſeems at that time, and indeed almoſt ever ſince, to have prevailed in this country, even to a degree of infatuation. Some people even imagined, that three or four thouſand regular troops were ſufficient for the conqueſt of the whole continent. It was therefore thought abundantly ſufficient for quelling all tumults or inſurrections that might ariſe in that quarter, to ſend four regiments to Boſton, along with General Gage, who was appointed governor in the room of Hutchinſon, and at the ſame time commander in chief of all the forces in America.

Matters, however, turned out directly oppoſite to the views of the Miniſtry. The neighbouring towns, inſtead of attempting to profit by the misfortunes of Boſton, uſed their utmoſt endeavours for her relief; and the other colonies ſeemed to have their affection and ſympathy raiſed in proportion to the efforts of the Miniſtry againſt their ſiſter.

As matters were now come to a criſis, it will here be proper, for a right underſtanding of what produced the final breach between Great Britain and her colonies, to give a ſhort abſtract of the moſt offenſive acts, and ſome of the American reſolutions and animadverſions concerning them.

In the preamble to the Boſton Port Bill, it was declared, That as dangerous Commotions and Inſurrections had been fomented and raiſed in the town of Boſton, by ill-affected perſons, to the ſubverſion of government, and to the utter deſtruction of the public peace; in which commotions, certain valuable cargoes of teas, the property of the Eaſt India com-

pany, and on board veſſels lying within the bay or harbour of Boſton were ſeized and deſtroyed; and as in the condition in which the town and harbour at that time were, the commerce of his Majeſty's ſubjects could not be ſafely carried on, nor his Majeſty's cuſtoms duly collected; it was therefore expedient that the officers of theſe cuſtoms ſhould immediately be removed from the ſaid town; therefore it was enacted, that after the 1ſt of June 1774, no merchandiſe ſhould be landed at, or ſhipped from Boſton, under penalty of forfeiting the ſhip and cargo. This prohibition, however, was not to extend to any military ſtores brought for his Majeſty's uſe, or to any fuel or victual brought coaſt-wiſe from any part of the continent of America, provided the ſhips were furniſhed with a proper paſs. All ſeizures and forfeitures inflicted by this act, were to be made and proſecuted by any admiral or commiſſioned officer of his Majeſty's fleet, or by the officers of the cuſtoms, or ſome other perſon appointed by the Lord High Treaſurer. But, whenever it was made to appear to his Majeſty in his privy-council, that peace and obedience to the laws were ſo far reſtored in the town of Boſton, that the trade of Great Britain might be ſafely carried on there, and his Majeſty's cuſtoms duly collected, it ſhould be lawful for his Majeſty by proclamation, or by order of the council, to aſſign and appoint the bounds and limits of the port and harbour of Boſton, and of every creek or haven within the ſame, or in the iſlands within the precincts thereof; and alſo to appoint ſuch and ſo many officers of the cuſtoms as his Majeſty ſhould think fit; after which it ſhould be lawful to land goods at theſe places, and no other. But ſuch appointments were altogether out of his Majeſty's power to make, before ſatisfaction was made to the Eaſt India Company for the loſs ſhe had ſuſtained by the deſtruction of the tea.

Another act, which was greatly reſented by the Americans, was entitled, "An act for the better regulating the government of the province of Maſſachuſet's

ſet's bay." By this act it was declared, that from and after the firſt day of Auguſt 1774, ſo much of the charter by king William to the inhabitants of Maſſachuſet's bay, which relates to the time and manner of electing counſellors ſhould be revoked; and from that day the council for the province ſhould be compoſed of ſuch of the inhabitants, or proprietors of lands within the ſame, as ſhould be appointed by his Majeſty, with conſent of the privy council, agreeable to the practice then uſed in reſpect to the appointment of counſellors in thoſe colonies, the governors whereof were appointed by commiſſion under the great ſeal of Britain. That all the judges of inferior courts, ſheriffs, &c. ſhould be appointed by his Majeſty, or his ſervants. That after the firſt of Auguſt, no meeting ſhould be called by the ſelect men, or at the requeſt of any number of freeholders of any townſhip, without the leave of the governor, or, in his abſence, of the lieutenant governor, in writing, expreſſing the ſpecial buſineſs of the meeting, excepting only the annual meeting in the months of March and May for the choice of ſelect men, &c.

Another act was at the ſame time paſſed, whereby it was declared "That if any inquiſition or indictment ſhall be found, or if any appeal ſhall be preferred againſt any perſon for murder or other capital offence in the province of Maſſachuſet's-bay, and it ſhall appear by information given upon oath to the governor, or to the lieutenant governor, that the fact was committed by the perſon againſt whom ſuch indictment ſhall be found, either in the execution of his duty as a magiſtrate, for the ſuppreſſion of riots, or in the ſupport of the laws of revenue, or in acting in his duty as an officer of revenue, or in acting under the direction and order of any magiſtrate for the ſuppreſſion of riots, or for carrying into effect the laws of the revenue, &c. and if it ſhall alſo appear to the ſatisfaction of the ſaid governor or lieutenant-governor, that an indifferent trial cannot be had within the province, it ſhall be lawful for the gover-

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nor, or lieutenant-governor, to direct, with the advice of the council, that the indictment ſhall be tried in ſome of the other colonies, or in Great Britain; and for that purpoſe to order the perſon againſt whom ſuch indictment ſhall be found, to be ſent under ſufficient cuſtody, to the place appointed for his trial, or to admit ſuch perſon to bail, taking a recognizance with ſufficient ſureties in ſuch ſums of money as the governor, or lieutenant-governor ſhall deem reaſonable, for the perſonal appearance of ſuch perſon at the place appointed to take his trial. All perſons brought before juſtices, &c. accuſed of any capital crime in the execution of their duty may be admitted to bail, and may poſtpone their trials, in order to the matter being heard in another colony." This act was entitled "An act for the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice in the caſes of perſons queſtioned for any acts done by them in the execution of the law, or for the ſuppreſſion of riots, in the province of Maſſachuſet's-bay.

A fourth act was paſſed the ſame ſeſſion, relative to the government of Quebec. By the firſt clauſe of this act, the proclamation of October 7th 1763 was made void after the firſt of May 1774. By the ſecond clauſe, the Romiſh clergy were allowed the exerciſe of their religion, ſubject to the king's ſupremacy, as eſtabliſhed by the firſt of queen Elizabeth; and were entitled to receive their accuſtomed dues and rights from perſons profeſſing the Romiſh religion; with a proviſo that his majeſty ſhall not be diſabled from making ſuch proviſion for the ſupport and maintenance of a Proteſtant clergy as he ſhall think fit. By the third clauſe, all Canadian ſubjects, except religious orders and communities, were to hold all their properties, &c. as if the proclamation had never been made; and all controverſies relative to property and civil rights were to be determined by the Canada laws then in being, or ſuch as might afterwards be enacted by the governor, lieutenant governor and legiſlative council. By the fourth

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clauſe, the criminal law of England was inſtituted, ſubject to ſuch amendments as might afterwards be made by the legiſlative powers, &c. By the ſame act, the province of Quebec was extended Southward to the banks of the Ohio, Weſtward to the banks of the Miſſiſſippi, and Northward to the boundaries of the Hudſon's-bay company.

Theſe are the moſt remarkable particulars of the acts of parliament paſſed in 1773, which proved the immediate means of bringing on the American war. That they were oppreſſive to the coloniſts cannot poſſibly be denied; but we muſt conſider, that they were not paſſed by the Miniſtry wantonly, or merely out of a deſign to oppreſs the Americans, but with a view to bring them back to what they called their duty. The Eaſt India company's property had been deſtroyed by the inhabitants of the town of Boſton. It was proper therefore that the company ſhould be reimburſed by theſe inhabitants; but as there was no likelihood of ſatisfaction being voluntarily made, it was neceſſary to inflict a puniſhment on the town itſelf by ſhutting up their port, or ſome other means, until they returned ſo far to their duty as to do the juſtice required of them. The colony of Maſſachuſet's-bay was exceedingly refractory, and abuſed the liberties they enjoyed by king William's charter; therefore it was neceſſary to take that charter from them, and put them under ſuch a government as would probably keep them more ſecurely in dependence on the Britiſh legiſlature. The moſt ſevere law was that regarding murder and other capital crimes; for by this the lives of the inhabitants were put very much in the power of the revenue officers; and to accept of bail for a perſon accuſed of murder was a thing unheard of. From the diſtracted ſtate of the province, however, the danger appeared to lie on the other ſide; and the revenue officers ſeemed to be in much greater danger from the people, than the people were from them. This law was therefore conſidered as juſt in the ſituation in which matters

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at that time were; but as it was hoped they would not always remain in ſuch confuſion, the law was only enacted for three years.

This is what might be alledged on the miniſterial ſide of the queſtion; but it was eaſy to ſee, that while the grand queſtion concerning the power of the Britiſh parliament to tax America remained undecided, no reſtrictions nor puniſhments could poſſibly be conſidered by the coloniſts as chaſtiſements deſigned to bring them back to a ſenſe of their duty, but rather as acts of tyranny and oppreſſion, and exertions of that arbitrary power which parliament would not fail ſome time or other to exerciſe, though no reſiſtance had been made.

In the latter view, theſe laws were held by the coloniſts as we have already hinted. A general alarm was ſpread from one end of the continent to the other; and the penal laws, inſtead of dividing, became the means of uniting the colonies much cloſer than before. They ſaid it was now viſible that charters, grants, or eſtabliſhed uſages were no longer a protection or defence; but that all rights, immunities, and civil privileges muſt vaniſh at the breath of parliament. They were all ſenſible that in effect they were equally guilty with the town of Boſton; and therefore that the ſame vengeance in ſome ſhape or other would probably overtake them all. The other colonies had not indeed proceeded to ſuch violent acts as the Boſtonians and inhabitants of Maſſachuſet's-bay had done; but they all denied the authority of parliament to tax them, which was ſufficient to render them obnoxious to the miniſtry.

On the 13th of March 1774, General Gage arrived at Boſton, where, as already obſerved, he had been appointed governor. Juſt before he arrived, a copy of the bill for ſhutting up the port had been brought by a ſhip from London. This threw the people into the utmoſt conſternation; and a town-meeting was ſitting to conſider of it at the time the governor arrived. At this meeting, reſolutions were made,

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and ordered to be tranſmitted to the reſt of the colonies, inviting them to join in an agreement to ſtop all imports and exports to and from Great Britain and the Weſt Indies until the port-act was repealed; which they ſaid, was the only means left for preſerving the liberties of America. Copies of the act in the mean time were printed in prodigious numbers, and diſpatched into all parts of the continent; and thus the whole continent was ſet in a flame. At Boſton and New York the populace had copies of the bill printed upon mourning paper with a black border, which they cried about the ſtreets under the title of a barbarous, bloody, and inhuman murder. In other places, great bodies of the people were called together by public advertiſement, and the obnoxious law burnt with great ſolemnity.

This combuſtion, however, did not hinder governor Gage from being received with the uſual honours at Boſton; but the concord between him and the people he was ſent to govern, proved of ſhort duration. The new aſſembly of the province met of courſe in a few days, the council being, for the laſt time, choſen according to their charter. The governor gave them notice of their removal to the town of Salem, according to the act of parliament on the firſt of June. To avoid this removal, the aſſembly were hurrying through the neceſſary buſineſs of the ſupplies with the greateſt expedition, that they might adjourn themſelves to ſuch time as they thought proper. But the governor having got intelligence of their deſign, unexpectedly adjourned them to the 7th of June, then to meet at Salem. Previous to this adjournment, they had preſented a petition to the governor for appointing a day of general prayer and faſting; but which he did not think proper to comply with.

In the mean time, provincial, or town meetings, were held in every part of the continent; in which, though ſome were much more moderate than others, the greateſt diſapprobation of the coercive meaſures

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uſed with Boſton was univerſally expreſſed. The houſe of burgeſſes of Virginia appointed the firſt of June, the day on which the Boſton port bill took place, to be ſet apart for faſting, prayer, and humiliation, to implore the divine interpoſition to avert the heavy calamity which threatened deſtruction to their civil rights, with the evils of civil war; and to give one heart and one mind to the people firmly to oppoſe every injury to the American rights. This example was followed, or a ſimilar reſolution adopted almoſt every where; and the firſt of June became a general day of prayer and humiliation throughout the continent.

This reſolution produced the immediate diſſolution of the houſe of burgeſſes; but before their ſeparation, 89 of the members entered into an aſſociation, in which they declared, that an attack made upon one colony to force them to ſubmit to arbitrary taxes, was an attack on all Britiſh America, and threatened ruin to the rights of all, unleſs the united wiſdom of the whole was applied in prevention. They therefore recommended to the committee of correſpondence, to communicate with the ſeveral committees of the other provinces, on the expediency of appointing deputies from the different colonies to meet annually in general congreſs, and to deliberate on thoſe meaſures which the united intereſts of America might from time to time render neceſſary. They concluded with a declaration that a tender regard for the intereſts of their fellow-ſubjects the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, prevented them from going further at that time. At Philadelphia, about 300 of the inhabitants immediately met, and appointed a committee to write to the town of Boſton. They obſerved that all lenient applications for redreſs ſhould be tried before recourſe was had to extremities, that it might perhaps be right to take the ſenſe of a general congreſs before the deſperate meaſure of putting an entire ſtop to commerce was adopted; and that it might be right

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at any rate to reſerve that meaſure as the laſt reſource when all other means had failed. They obſerved, that if the making reſtitution to the Eaſt India company for their teas would put an end to the unhappy controverſy, and leave the people of Boſton upon their ancient footing of conſtitutional liberty, it could not admit of a moment's doubt what part they ſhould act; but it was not the value of the tea, it was the indefeaſible right of giving and granting their own money, a right from which they could never recede, that was now the matter in conſideration. At New York a town meeting was alſo held, and a committee of correſpondence appointed; but here they were as yet very moderate. The caſe was far otherwiſe, however, at Annapolis in Maryland. Here the people, though under a proprietary government, exceeded all the other colonies in violence. They paſſed a reſolution to prevent the carrying on of any ſuits in the courts of the province, for the debts that were owing by them to Great Britain. But this reſolution was not confirmed by the provincial meeting, nor any where carried into execution. In general, the propoſal for ſhutting up the ports, (former propoſals of that kind having been greatly abuſed in order to procure gain to individuals) was received with great coldneſs and heſitation. But in other reſpects, the moſt violent reſentment was expreſſed againſt the Boſton-port-bill, and the miniſtry who had framed it. The aſſembly of Maſſachuſet's bay, in the mean time having met at Salem, in obedience to the act, the animoſities between the members, the aſſembly, and their governor became ſo high, that it was diſſolved on the 17th of June, ten days after it had been removed to Salem. The immediate cauſe of its being diſſolved, was the paſſing of a declaratory reſolution expreſſive of their ſenſe of the ſtate of public affairs, and the deſigns of government. They advanced, that they along with the other colonies, had long been ſtruggling under the heavy hand of power; that their dutiful petitions for the redreſs of intole-

rable grievances had not only been neglected, but that the deſign totally to alter the free conſtitution and civil government in Britiſh America, to eſtabliſh arbitrary governments, and to reduce the inhabitants to ſlavery, appeared to be more and more fixed and determined. They then recommended, in the ſtrongeſt terms, to the inhabitants of the province totally to renounce the conſumption of India teas, and, as far as in them lay, to diſcontinue the uſe of all goods imported from the Eaſt Indies and Great Britain, until the public grievances of America ſhould be radically and totally redreſſed. And the more effectually to carry this purpoſe into execution, it was ſtrongly recommended that they ſhould give every poſſible encouragement to the manufactures of America.

The day after the diſſolution of the aſſembly at Salem, a moſt pathetic addreſs was preſented by the merchants and freeholders of that place to governor Gage. "We are deeply affected, (ſay they) with a ſenſe of our public calamities; but the miſeries that are now rapidly haſtening on our brethren in the capital of the province, greatly excite our commiſeration, and we hope your excellency will uſe your endeavours to prevent a further accumulation of evils on that already ſorely diſtreſſed people. By ſhutting up the port of Boſton, ſome imagine that the courſe of trade might be turned hither, and to our benefit; but nature, in the formation of our harbour, forbids our becoming rivals in commerce with that convenient mart. And, were it otherwiſe, we muſt be dead to every idea of juſtice, loſt to all feelings of humanity, could we indulge one thought to ſeize on wealth, and raiſe our fortunes on the ruin of our ſuffering neighbours."

Soon after this, rough draughts of the two remaining bills relative to Maſſachuſet's bay, as well as another for quartering the troops in America, were received at Boſton. This completed the violence and indignation of the colonies. Even thoſe who had

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before been moſt moderate, now talked in the ſame ſtrain with the reſt; the ſhutting up their ports came to be conſidered as a matter of neceſſity, and the idea ſoon became familiar. Some were ſo violent that they were for coming to extremities at once. An agreement was framed by the committee of correſpondence at Boſton, which they entitled the *Solemn League and Covenant*. By this, the ſubſcribers bound themſelves in the moſt ſolemn manner, and in the preſence of God, to ſuſpend all commercial intercourſe with Great Britain, from the laſt day of the enſuing month of Auguſt, until the Boſton-port-bill, and other obnoxious acts were repealed. They alſo bound themſelves in the ſame manner, not to conſume, or to purchaſe from any other, any goods whatever, which arrived after the time ſpecified, and to break off all commerce, trade, and dealings with any who did, as well as with the importers of ſuch goods. They renounced, in the ſame manner, all future intercourſe and connection with thoſe who ſhould refuſe to ſubſcribe to that Covenant, or to bind themſelves by a ſimilar agreement; with the dangerous penalty annexed, of having their names publiſhed to the world.

This covenant, with a letter from the committee at Boſton, was circulated with the uſual activity, and the people, not only in the New-England governments, but in the other provinces, entered into the new league with great eagerneſs. Similar agreements, however, were about this time entered into in various parts of the continent, without any previous knowledge of each other.

This aſſociation alarmed General Gage. He therefore publiſhed a proclamation, dated June 29th, in which the Solemn League was ſtiled an unlawful, hoſtile, and traiterous combination; contrary to the allegiance due to the King, deſtructive of the lawful authority of the Britiſh Parliament, and of the peace, good order and ſafety of the community. All people were warned to avoid the pains and penalties incurred by ſuch dangerous offences, &c.—If this procla-

mation had any effect, it was a bad one. Such as were verſed in the knowledge of the law, endeavoured to ſhew that the aſſociation did not come within any of the treaſon laws, and that the charges made by the governor were, of conſequence, erroneous, unjuſt, and highly injurious. They ſaid he had aſſumed a power which the conſtitution denied even to the King; namely, the power of making thoſe things treaſon which were not conſidered as ſuch by the laws; that the people had a right to aſſemble, to conſider of their common grievances, and to form aſſociations for their general conduct for the removal of theſe grievances; and that the proclamation was equally arbitrary, odious, and illegal.

Meaſures were now every where taken for the holding of a general Congreſs. Philadelphia was fixed upon as the moſt convenient place, and the beginning of September as the time for holding it. When an aſſembly happened to be ſitting, as in the caſe of Maſſachuſet's bay, they appointed deputies to repreſent the province in Congreſs. But as this happened to be the caſe in very few inſtances, the general method was for the people to elect their uſual number of repreſentatives; and theſe, at a general meeting, choſe deputies from among themſelves; the number of which, in general, bore ſome proportion to the extent and importance of the province; two being the leaſt, and ſeven the greateſt number that repreſented any colony. But whatever the number of repreſentatives were, each colony had no more than a ſingle vote.

All this time, however, the Boſtonians were ſeverely feeling the effects of the port-bill. Liberal contributions had indeed been raiſed for them in the different colonies; but it may be eaſily imagined, that in a town containing 20,000 inhabitants, who had always ſubſiſted by commerce, that the cutting off that grand ſource of their employment and ſubſiſtence muſt, notwithſtanding any temporary reliefs, occaſion great and numerous diſtreſſes. Even the rich

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were not exempt from this general calamity, as a very great part of their property conſiſted in wharfs, warehouſes, ſheds, &c. They, however, bore their misfortunes with wonderful reſolution; and in this they were encouraged by the ſympathy they met with from their neighbours. The inhabitants of the town of Marble-head were among thoſe who might have profited by the ruin of the Boſtonians. But they, inſtead of endeavouring to reap the fruits of their neighbours calamity, generouſly ſent them an offer of the uſe of their ſtores and wharfs, of attending to the lading and unlading of their goods, and of tranſacting all the buſineſs they ſhould do at their port, without putting them to the ſmalleſt expence; but at the ſame time, they exhorted them to perſevere with the ſame patience and reſolution which they had hitherto ſhown.

Soon after the General's arrival in his government, two regiments of foot, with a ſmall detachment of the artillery, and ſome cannon were landed at Boſton, and encamped on a common which lies within the peninſula on which the town ſtands. Theſe troops were by degrees reinforced by the arrival of ſeveral regiments from Ireland, New-York, Halifax, and at laſt from Quebec. The arrival and ſtation of theſe troops filled the inhabitants of Boſton and the neighbouring country, with the greateſt apprehenſion and jealouſy; which was heightened by the placing of a guard at *Boſton-neck*, the narrow Iſthmus that joins the peninſula to the continent. For this laſt meaſure, the frequent deſertion of the ſoldiers was given as the cauſe.

Every thing now ſeemed to tend towards thoſe meaſures which have ſince been unhappily proſecuted. The people in the different counties became every day more outrageous. In the counties of Berkſhire and Worceſter particularly, nothing was to be heard of, but the procuring of ammunition, caſting balls, &c. and every other preparation, which indicated the moſt determined reſolution for reſiſtance and war. The new

laws arrived at Boſton about the beginning of Auguſt. Thirty-ſix new counſellors were appointed by his Majeſty, agreeable to the laſt made regulations. Twenty-four of theſe accepted their offices, which was a ſufficient number for carrying on the buſineſs of government. But all who accepted of any offices under the new laws, or prepared to act in conformity to them, were now every where declared enemies to their country. The new judges were in all places rendered incapable of proceeding in their office. Upon opening the courts, the great and petty Juries unanimouſly refuſed to be ſworn, or to act in any manner under the new judges and the new laws. The acting otherwiſe, was deemed ſo heinous an offence, that the clerks of the courts found it neceſſary to acknowledge their repentance in the public papers for iſſuing the warrants, by which the Juries were ſummoned to attend; and to promiſe, that if their countrymen would forgive them at that time, they never would be guilty of the like offence again. At Great Barrington and ſome other places, the people aſſembled in numerous bodies, and filled the court-houſe and avenues in ſuch a manner, that neither the judges nor their officers, could obtain admittance. On the ſheriffs commanding them to make way for the court, they anſwered, that they knew of no court nor other eſtabliſhment, independent of the ancient laws and uſages of their country; and to none other would they ſubmit, or give way upon any terms. The new counſellors were ſtill more unfortunate than the judges. Their houſes were ſurrounded by great bodies of people, to whom they muſt either ſubmit, or ſuffer the fury of an enraged populace. Moſt of them ſubmitted to the former condition; but ſome had the good luck to eſcape to Boſton, by which they evaded the danger.

The old conſtitution being taken away by act of parliament, and the new one rejected by the people, an end was put to all forms of law whatever in the province of Maſſachuſet's-bay. But though the people

people were now reduced to the ſame ſtate of anarchy in which all nations are ſuppoſed to have been originally, yet ſuch is the effect of long eſtabliſhed cuſtom and ſubmiſſion to laws, that no marks of diſorder were perceived in this province, farther than the general oppoſition to government, which had plainly enough appeared before.

General Gage, in the mean time, thought it neceſſary to take ſome means for the preſervation of himſelf and the troops that were with him. He therefore fortified the Iſthmus which afforded the only communication between the town and the continent by land. This raiſed a prodigious outcry among the Americans, which we cannot but look upon as exceedingly unreaſonable; they themſelves having given ſuch abundant proofs of their hoſtile diſpoſition. Another meaſure produced yet greater diſturbances. The ſeaſon of the year now arrived for the annual muſter of the militia; but the general being ſuſpicious of their conduct when aſſembled, ſeized upon the ammunition and ſtores lodged in the provincial arſenal at Cambridge, and had them brought to Boſton. At the ſame time he ſeized on the powder which was lodged in the magazines at Charleſtown and ſome other places, being partly private, and partly provincial property. The complaints of the Americans on this occaſion alſo muſt appear to every ſober perſon to be very unreaſonable. They had avowed in the moſt open manner a deſign to make war on the King, if their terms were not complied with. For this purpoſe, they had collected theſe quantities of ammunition which were now ſeized: yet, as if all their own outrages ought to have gone for nothing, the ſeizing of theſe ſtores was held out to be as great an invaſion of property as if they had been taken from private perſons in the time of profound peace. The people now aſſembled to the number of ſeveral thouſands; and it was with the utmoſt difficulty that ſome of the more moderate and leading men of the country were

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able to prevent them from marching directly to Boſton, there to demand a delivery of the ſtores, or, in caſe of a refuſal, to attack the troops. A falſe report was at this time intentionally ſpread and extended to Connecticut, probably to try the temper of the people, that the ſhips and troops had attacked the town of Boſton, and were firing upon it when the pretended meſſengers came away. On this ſeveral thouſands of armed people immediately aſſembled, and marched with great expedition to the relief of their diſtreſſed brethren as they imagined: nor were they convinced of their miſtake till they were got to a conſiderable diſtance.

So general was the ſpirit of diſobedience and reſiſtance to the Britiſh government now become, that about this time the Governor's company of cadets, conſiſting wholly of gentlemen of Boſton, and ſuch as had been always well affected to government, diſbanded themſelves and returned General Gage the ſtandard, with which, according to cuſtom, he had preſented them on his arrival. This proceeded from the general's having deprived John Hancock, who was colonel of that corps, of his commiſſion; and at the ſame time, a colonel Murray having accepted of a ſeat in the new council, 24 officers of his regiment reſigned their places in one day.

The late meaſure of ſeizing the powder, as well as the fortifying Boſton-neck, occaſioned the holding of an aſſembly of delegates from all the towns in the county of Suffolk, of which Boſton is the capital. In this, the moſt firm and obſtinate reſiſtance was determined. It was *recommended*, (which in the preſent ſtate of things was equal to *commanding* in the moſt peremptory manner) to the collectors of the taxes, and all other receivers and holders of the public money, not to pay it as uſual to the treaſurer; but to detain it in their hands until the civil government of the province was placed on a conſtitutional foundation; or until it ſhould be otherwiſe ordered by the provincial Congreſs. Still however, they

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profeſſed their loyalty, and on the 9th of September, appointed a committee to wait on the governor with a remonſtrance againſt fortifying Boſton-neck. In this they declared, that though the loyal people of the county thought themſelves oppreſſed by ſome late acts of the Britiſh parliament, and were reſolved, through divine aſſiſtance, never to ſubmit to them, yet they had no inclination to commence war with his Majeſty's troops. They totally diſclaimed every idea of independency, and attributed all the preſent troubles to miſinformation at home, and the evil deſigns of particular perſons.

Some time before this, the governor, by the advice of his new council, had iſſued writs for the holding of a general aſſembly to meet in the beginning of October; but by reaſon of the ſucceeding ferments, it was thought expedient to countermand the writs by proclamation, and defer the holding of the aſſembly to a more proper opportunity. The legality of this proclamation, however, was denied, and the elections took place every where without regard to it. The new members accordingly met at Salem purſuant to the precepts; but having waited a day, without the governor, or any ſubſtitute for him attending, they voted themſelves into a provincial Congreſs to be joined by ſuch as had been, or ſhould be afterwards, elected for that purpoſe. After this, Mr Hancock was choſen chairman, and the aſſembly adjourned to Concord, about 20 miles from Boſton.

Among the earlieſt proceedings of this aſſembly, was their appointing a committee to wait upon the governor with an apology for their meeting contrary to his proclamation. They repreſented that the diſtreſſed ſtate of the province had rendered it neceſſary to take the opinion of the people by their delegates, in order to fall upon ſome method to prevent impending ruin, and provide for the public ſafety. They then expreſſed the moſt grievous apprehenſions from the meaſures then purſuing. They aſſerted that even the rigour of the Boſton-port-bill was exceeded

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by the manner in which it was carried into execution. They complained of the late laws, calculated not only to abridge the people of their rights, but to licenſe murders; of the number of troops in the capital, which were daily increaſing by new acceſſions drawn from every part of the continent; together with the formidable and hoſtile preparations in Boſton-neck; all tending to endanger the lives, liberties and properties, not only of the people of Boſton, but of the whole province in general. To this General Gage replied, by expreſſing his indignation that any idea ſhould be formed, that the lives, liberties or property of the people ſhould be in danger from Engliſh troops. That notwithſtanding the enmity ſhewn to the troops, by with-holding from them almoſt every neceſſary for their preſervation, they had not yet diſcovered the reſentment which might juſtly be expected from ſuch hoſtile treatment. He reminded the Congreſs, that, while they made complaints of the alterations of their charter by acts of parliament, they themſelves were, by their aſſembling in that manner, ſubverting their charter, and now acting in direct violation of their own conſtitution; and in the ſtrongeſt terms, adviſed them to deſiſt from ſuch illegal and unconſtitutional proceedings.

On the approach of winter, the General had ordered temporary barracks to be erected for the troops, partly for ſafety, and partly to prevent the diſorders and miſchiefs which muſt enſue if they were quartered upon the inhabitants. Such, however, was the general diſſatisfaction with their being provided for in any way, that the ſelect men and the committees, obliged the workmen to quit their employment though the money for their labour would have been paid by the Crown. It was found impoſſible alſo to procure carpenters from New-York; ſo that the General had the greateſt difficulty in getting theſe temporary lodgments erected; and having endeavoured alſo to procure ſome winter covering from New-York, the offer to purchaſe it was preſented to every merchant there,

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who to a man refuſed their compliance, returning for anſwer, that "they never would ſupply any article for the benefit of men who were ſent as enemies to their country."

While things remained in this deplorable ſituation, the mutual animoſities were rendered, if poſſible, worſe, by a meaſure which ſcarce ſeems to have been neceſſary. A detachment of ſailors from the ſhips of war were landed by night, who ſpiked up all the cannon on one of the principal batteries belonging to the town. In the mean time, the provincial Congreſs, notwithſtanding the admonitions of the Governor, continued their aſſemblies. Their reſolutions, thro' the diſpoſition of the people, now acquired the force of laws, and they ſeemed in fact to have founded a new and independent government. Under the pretence of recommendation and advice, they ſettled the militia; regulated the public treaſures, and provided arms. They appointed alſo a day of public thankſgiving, in which, among other bleſſings, they mentioned the happy union which prevailed among the colonies, and for which they particularly returned thanks to God. Theſe, and ſimilar meaſures, induced General Gage to iſſue a proclamation, dated Nov. 10. 1774, in which, though the direct terms of *treaſon* and *rebellion* are avoided, the Congreſs was indirectly charged with theſe crimes, and the inhabitants of the province were, in the King's name, forbid to comply with any of the requiſitions of that unlawful aſſembly.

In the mean time, the general Congreſs had been held at Philadelphia, on the 5th of September, as was propoſed. To avoid prolixity, I ſhall here only take notice of the three moſt remarkable acts of this famous aſſembly. The firſt was the American aſſociation, or non-importation Agreement; and as no abridgement can be ſufficiently expreſſive of their meaning, we ſhall give it in their own words: "We, his Majeſty's moſt loyal ſubjects, &c. having taken under our moſt ſerious deliberation the ſtate of the whole continent, find, that the preſent unhappy ſituation

ation of our affairs is occaſioned by a ruinous ſyſtem of colony adminiſtration adopted by the Britiſh Miniſtry about the year 1763, evidently calculated for enſlaving theſe colonies, and with them, the Britiſh Empire. In proſecution of which ſyſtem, various acts of parliament have been paſſed for raiſing a revenue in America, for depriving the American ſubjects, in many inſtances of the conſtitutional trial by Jury, expoſing their lives to danger by directing a new and illegal trial beyond the ſeas, for crimes alledged to have been committed in America; and, in proſecution of the ſame ſyſtem, ſeveral late, cruel, and oppreſſive acts have been paſſed reſpecting the town of Boſton and the Maſſachuſet's bay, and alſo an act for extending the province of Quebec, ſo as to border on the weſtern frontiers of theſe colonies, eſtabliſhing an arbitrary government therein, and diſcouraging the ſettlement of Britiſh ſubjects in that wide extended country: thus, by the influence of civil principles and ancient prejudices, to diſpoſe the inhabitants to act with hoſtility againſt the free Proteſtant colonies, whenever a wicked miniſtry ſhall chuſe ſo to direct them.

" To obtain redreſs of theſe grievances, which threaten deſtruction to the lives, liberty, and property of his Majeſty's ſubjects in North America, we are of opinion, that a non-importation, non-conſumption, and non-exportation agreement, faithfully adhered to, will prove the moſt ſpeedy, effectual, and peaceable meaſure; and therefore we do, for ourſelves, and the inhabitants of the ſeveral colonies, whom we repreſent, firmly agree and aſſociate, under the ſacred ties of virtue, honour, and the love of our country, as follows:

" Firſt, That from and after the firſt day of December next, we will not import into Britiſh America, from Great Britain or Ireland, any goods, wares, or merchandize whatſoever, or from any other place, any ſuch goods, wares, or merchandize, as ſhall have been exported from Great Britain or Ireland; nor

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will we, after that day, import any East India tea, from any part of the world; nor any molaſſes, ſyrups, paneles, coffee, or pimento, from the British plantations, or from Dominica; nor wines from Madeira, or the weſtern Iſlands; nor foreign Indigo.

Second, That we will neither import, nor purchaſe any ſlave imported, after the firſt day of December next; after which time, we will wholly diſcontinue the ſlave trade, and will neither be concerned in it ourſelves, nor will we hire our veſſels, nor ſell our commodities or manufactures, to thoſe who are concerned in it.

Third, As a non-conſumption agreement, ſtrictly adhered to, will be an effectual ſecurity for the obſervation of the non-importation, we, as above, ſolemnly agree and aſſociate, that from this day, we will not purchaſe, or uſe any tea, imported on account of the East India company; or any on which a duty hath been, or ſhall be paid: and from and after the firſt day of March next, we will not uſe or purchaſe any East India tea whatever; nor will we, nor ſhall any perſon for, or under us, purchaſe or uſe any of thoſe goods, wares, or merchandize we have agreed not to import, which we ſhall know, or have cauſe to ſuſpect, were imported after the firſt day of December, except ſuch as come under the rules and directions of the tenth article herein after mentioned.

Fourth, The earneſt deſire we have, not to injure our fellow-ſubjects in Great-Britain, Ireland, or the Weſt Indies, induces us to ſuſpend a non-exportation, until the 10th of September 1775; at which time, if the ſaid acts and parts of acts of the Britiſh parliament herein after mentioned, are not repealed, we will not, directly, or indirectly, export any merchandize or commodity whatſoever, to Great Britain, Ireland, or the Weſt Indies, except rice to Europe.

Fifth, Such as are merchants, and uſe the Britiſh and Iriſh trade, will give orders, as ſoon as poſſible, to their factors, agents, and correſpondents, in Great Britain and Ireland, not to ſhip any goods to them

on any pretence whatever, as they cannot be received in America: and if any merchant, reſiding in Great Britain or Ireland, ſhall, directly or indirectly, ſhip any goods, wares, or merchandize for America, in order to break the ſaid non-importation agreement, or in any manner contravene the ſame, on ſuch unworthy conduct being well atteſted, it ought to be made public; and, on the ſame being ſo done, we will not from thenceforth, have any commercial connection with ſuch merchant.

Sixth, That ſuch as are owners of veſſels, will give poſitive orders to their captains or maſters, not to receive on board their veſſels, any goods prohibited by the ſaid non-importation agreement, on pain of immediate diſmiſſion from their ſervice.

Seventh, We will uſe our utmoſt endeavours, to improve the breed of ſheep, and increaſe their number to the greateſt extent; and to that end, we will kill them as ſparing as may be, eſpecially thoſe of the moſt profitable kind; nor will we export any to the Weſt Indies or elſewhere: and thoſe of us who are, or may become over-ſtocked with, or can conveniently ſpare any ſheep, will diſpoſe of them to our neighbours, eſpecially to the poorer ſort, on moderate terms.

Eighth, That we will, in our ſeveral ſtations, encourage frugality, œconomy, and induſtry; and promote agriculture, arts, and the manufactures of this country, eſpecially that of wool: and will diſcountenance and diſcourage, every ſpecies of extravagance and diſſipation; eſpecially all horſe-racing, and all kinds of gaming, cock-fighting, exhibitions of ſhews, plays, and other expenſive diverſions and entertainments. And, on the death of any friend or relation, none of us, or any of our families, will go into any further mourning dreſs, than a black crape or ribbon on the arm or hat for gentlemen, and a black ribbon and necklace for ladies; and we will diſcontinue the giving of gloves and ſcarfs at funerals.

Ninth,

Ninth, That ſuch as are venders of goods or merchandize, will not take advantage of the ſcarcity of goods that may be occaſioned by this aſſociation, but will ſell the ſame at the rates we have been reſpectively accuſtomed to do for twelve months laſt paſt. And if any vender of goods or merchandize, ſhall ſell any ſuch goods on higher terms, or ſhall in any manner, or by any device whatſoever, violate or depart from this agreement, no perſon ought, nor will any of us deal with any ſuch perſon, or his or her factor or agent, at any time thereafter, for any commodity whatever.

Tenth, In caſe any merchant, trader, or other perſons, ſhall import any goods or merchandize after the firſt day of December, and before the firſt day of February next, the ſame ought forthwith, at the election of the owner, to be either re-ſhipped, or delivered up, to the committee of the county or town wherein they ſhall be imported, to be ſtored at the riſque of the importer, until the non importation agreement ſhall ceaſe, or be ſold under the direction of the committee aforeſaid; and, in the laſt mentioned caſe, the owner or owners of ſuch goods, ſhall be reimburſed (out of the ſales) the firſt coſts and charges; the profit, if any, to be applied towards relieving and employing ſuch poor inhabitants of the town of Boſton as are immediate ſufferers by the Boſton-port-bill; and a particular account of all goods ſo returned, ſtored, or ſold, to be inſerted in the public papers; and if any goods or merchandizes ſhall be imported after the ſaid firſt day of February, the ſame ought forthwith to be ſent back again, without breaking any of the packages thereof.

Eleventh, That a committee be choſen in every county, city and town, by thoſe who are qualified to vote for repreſentatives in the legiſlature; whoſe buſineſs it ſhall be attentively to obſerve the conduct of all perſons touching this aſſociation; that ſuch majority do forthwith cauſe the truth of the caſe to be publiſhed in the Gazette, to the end, that all ſuch foes

to the rights of Britiſh America, may be publicly known, and univerſally contemned as the enemies of American liberty; and thenceforth, we reſpectively will break off all dealings with him or her.

Twelfth, That the committee of correſpondence in the reſpective colonies, do frequently inſpect the entries of their cuſtom-houſes, and inform each other from time to time, of the true ſtate thereof, and of every other material circumſtance that may occur relative to their aſſociation.

Thirteenth, That all manufactures of this country be ſold at reaſonable prices; ſo that no undue advantage be taken of a future ſcarcity of goods.

Fourteenth, And we do further agree and reſolve, that we will have no trade, commerce, or dealings, or intercourſe whatſoever, with any colony or province in North America, which ſhall not accede to, or which ſhall hereafter violate this aſſociation, but will hold them as unworthy of the rights of freemen, and as inimical to the liberties of their country."

From this Congreſs, an addreſs was alſo ſent to the inhabitants of Great Britain; the moſt remarkable parts of it are the following: "We conſider ourſelves," ſay they, "and do inſiſt, that we are, and ought to be, as free as our fellow ſubjects in Britain, and that no power on earth has a right to take our property from us without our conſent. That we claim all the benefits ſecured to the ſubject by the Engliſh conſtitution, particularly, that ineſtimable one, of trial by Jury. That we hold it eſſential to Engliſh liberty, that no man be condemned unheard, or puniſhed for ſuppoſed offences, without having an opportunity of making his defence. That we think the legiſlature of Great Britain is not authoriſed by the conſtitution to eſtabliſh a religion fraught with ſanguinary and impious tenets, or to erect an arbitrary form of government in any quarter of the globe. Theſe rights, we, as well as you, deem ſacred. And yet, ſacred as they are, they have, with many others, been repeatedly and flagrantly violated. Are not the

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proprietors of the ſoil of Great Britain lords of their own property? Can it be taken from them without their conſent? Will they yield it to the arbitrary diſpoſal of any man, or number of men whatever? You know they will not. Why then are the proprietors of the ſoil of America, leſs lords of their property than you are of yours; or why ſhould they ſubmit it to the diſpoſal of your parliament, or any other parliament or council in the world, not of their election? Can the intervention of the ſea that divides us, cauſe diſparity of rights; or can any reaſon be given, why Engliſh ſubjects, who live 3000 miles from the Royal Palace, ſhould enjoy leſs liberty than thoſe who are 300 miles diſtant from it?

"Before we had recovered from the diſtreſſes which attend war, an attempt was made to drain this country of all its money by the oppreſſive ſtamp act. Paint, glaſs, and other commodities, which you would not permit us to purchaſe of other nations were taxed; nay, altho' no wine is made in any country ſubject to the Britiſh ſtate, you prohibited our procuring it of foreigners, without paying a tax, impoſed by your parliament, on all we imported. Theſe and many other impoſitions were laid upon us moſt unjuſtly and unconſtitutionally, for the expreſs purpoſe of raiſing a revenue. In order to ſilence complaint, it was indeed provided, that this revenue ſhould be expended in America for its protection and defence. Theſe exactions, however, can receive no juſtification from a pretended neceſſity of protecting and defending us. They are laviſhly ſquandered on court favourites and miniſterial dependants, generally avowed enemies to America, and employing themſelves by partial repreſentations to traduce and embroil the colonies. For the neceſſary ſupport of government here, we ever were, and ever ſhall be ready to provide. And, whenever the exigencies of the ſtate may require it, we ſhall, as we have heretofore done, chearfully contribute our full proportion of men and money.

"When the deſign of raiſing a revenue from the duties impoſed on the importation of tea into America had in a great meaſure been rendered abortive by our ceaſing to import that commodity, a ſcheme was concerted by the miniſtry with the Eaſt India Company, and an act paſſed, enabling and encouraging them to tranſport and vend it in the colonies. Aware of the danger of giving ſucceſs to this inſidious manœuvre, and of permitting a precedent of taxation thus to be eſtabliſhed among us, various methods were taken to elude the ſtroke. The people of Boſton, then ruled by a governor, whom, as well as his predeceſſor, Sir Francis Bernard, all America conſiders as her enemy, were exceedingly embaraſſed. The ſhips which had arrived with the tea were by his management prevented from returning. The duties would have been paid; the cargoes landed, and expoſed to ſale; a governor's influence would have procured and protected many purchaſers. While the town was ſuſpended by deliberations on this important ſubject, the tea was deſtroyed. Even ſuppoſe a treſpaſs had been committed, and the proprietors of the tea intitled to damages, the courts of law were open, and judges appointed by the Crown preſided in them. The Eaſt India Company, however, did not think proper to commence any ſuits, nor did they even demand ſatisfaction either from individuals, or the community in general. The miniſtry, it ſeems, officiouſly made the caſe their own; and the great council of the nation deſcended to intermeddle with a diſpute about private property. Divers papers, letters, and other unauthenticated *ex parte* evidence were laid before them; neither the perſons who deſtroyed the tea, nor the town of Boſton were called upon to anſwer the complaint. The miniſtry, incenſed by being diſappointed in a favourite ſcheme, were determined to recur, from the little arts of fineſſe, to open force and unmanly violence. The port of Boſton was blocked up by a fleet, and an army placed in the town. Their trade was to be

ſuſpended

ſuſpended, and thouſands reduced to the neceſſity of gaining ſubſiſtence from charity, till they ſhould ſubmit to paſs under the yoke, and conſent to become ſlaves, by owning the omnipotence of parliament, and acquieſcing in whatever diſpoſition they might think proper to make of their lives and property.

" Let juſtice and humanity ceaſe to be the boaſt of your nation! conſult your hiſtory, examine your records of former tranſactions, nay, turn to the many annals of the many arbitrary ſtates and kingdoms that ſurround you, and ſhew us a ſingle inſtance of men being condemned to ſuffer for crimes *unheard, unqueſtioned*, and without even the ſpecious *formality of a trial;* and that too by laws made expreſsly for the purpoſe, and which had no exiſtence at the time of the fact being committed.

" Now mark the progreſſion of the miniſterial plan for enſlaving us.

" Well aware that ſuch hardy attempts (to take our property from us—to deprive us of that valuable right, of trial by jury—to ſeize our perſons, and carry us for trial to Great Britain—to blockade our ports—to deſtroy our charters, and change our forms of government) would occaſion, and had already occaſioned great diſcontent in all the colonies, which might produce oppoſition to theſe meaſures, an act was paſſed, " to protect, indemnify, and ſcreen from puniſhment ſuch as might be guilty even of *murder*, in endeavouring to carry their oppreſſive edict into execution;" and by another act " the dominion of Canada is to be ſo extended, modelled, and governed," as that by being diſunited from us, detached from our intereſts by civil as well as religious prejudices, that, by their numbers ſwelling with Catholic Emigrants from Europe, and by their devotion to adminiſtration, ſo friendly to their religion, they might become formidable to us, and on occaſion, be fit inſtruments in the hands of power, to reduce the ancient free Proteſtant colonies to the ſame ſtate of ſlavery with themſelves.

" This

" This being a true ſtate of facts, let us beſeech you to conſider to what end they lead.

" Admit that the miniſtry, by the powers of Great Britain, and the aid of our Roman Catholic neighbours, ſhould be able to carry the point of taxation, and reduce us to a ſtate of perfect humiliation and ſlavery: ſuch an enterprize would doubtleſs make ſome addition to your national debt, which already preſſes down your liberties, and fills you with penſioners and place-men. We preſume alſo that your commerce will be ſomewhat diminiſhed: however, ſhould you prove victorious, in what condition will you then be? What advantages, or what laurels will you reap from ſuch a conqueſt?

" May not a miniſtry, with the ſame armies, enſlave you? It may be ſaid, " you will ceaſe to pay them;—but remember the taxes from America, the wealth, and, we may add, the *men*, and particularly, the Roman Catholics of this vaſt continent, will then be in the power of your enemies; nor will you have reaſon to expect, that after making ſlaves of us, many among us ſhould refuſe to aſſiſt in reducing you to the ſame abject ſtate.

" Do not treat this as chimerical:—Know that in leſs than half a century, the quit-rents reſerved to the Crown, from the numberleſs grants of this vaſt continent, will pour large ſtreams of wealth into the Royal coffers; and if to this be added, the power of taxing America at pleaſure, the Crown will be rendered independent on you for ſupplies, and will poſſeſs more treaſure than may be neceſſary to purchaſe the remains of liberty in your iſland. In a word, take care that you do not fall into the pit that is preparing for us.

" But if you are determined, that your miniſters ſhall wantonly ſport with the rights of mankind, if neither the voice of juſtice, the dictates of the law, the principles of the conſtitution, nor the ſuggeſtions of humanity, can reſtrain your hands from ſhedding human blood in ſuch an *impious cauſe*, we muſt then

tell

tell you, "That we never will ſubmit to be hewers of wood and drawers of water, for any miniſtry or nation in the world."

This addreſs was dated Oct. 20. 1774, and, ſix days after, another was ſent to the inhabitants of Canada, in which they ſet forth the bleſſings of liberty, and the danger of being enſlaved by the Britiſh miniſtry; and endeavoured to perſuade them to ſtand neuter in the conteſt. In November, a petition was ſent to the King, part of which, as being very remarkable, and containing a full account of the American grievances as they themſelves viewed them.

"To the King's moſt excellent Majeſty.

"Moſt gracious Sovereign,

"We your Majeſty's faithful ſubjects of the colonies of New-Hampſhire, Maſſachuſet's-bay, Rhode Iſland, and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jerſey, Pennſylvania, the Counties of Newcaſtle, Kent, and Suſſex on the Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina, in behalf of ourſelves, and the inhabitants of theſe colonies, who have deputed us to repreſent them in general Congreſs, by this our humble petition, beg leave to lay our grievances before the throne.

"A ſtanding army has been kept in theſe colonies ever ſince the concluſion of the late war, without the conſent of our aſſemblies; and this army, with a conſiderable naval armament, has been employed to enforce the collection of taxes.

"The authority of the commander in chief, and, under him, of the brigadiers general, has, in time of peace, been rendered ſupreme in all the civil governments in America.

"The commander in chief of all your Majeſty's forces in North America, has, in time of peace, been appointed governor of a colony. The charges of uſual offices have been greatly increaſed, and new, expenſive, and oppreſſive offices, have been multiplied.

"The

" The judges of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts, are empowered to receive their ſalaries and fees from the effects condemned by themſelves. The officers of the cuſtoms are empowered to break open and enter houſes without the authority of any civil magiſtrate founded on legal information.

" The judges of courts of common law have been made entirely dependent on one part of the legiſlature for their ſalaries, as well as for the duration of their commiſſions. Counſellors, holding their commiſſions during pleaſure, exerciſe legiſlative authority.

" Humble and reaſonable petitions from the repreſentatives of the people have been fruitleſs.

" The agents of the people have been diſcountenanced, and governors have been inſtructed to prevent the payment of their ſalaries: aſſemblies have been repeatedly and injuriouſly diſſolved, and commerce burdened with many uſeleſs and oppreſſive reſtrictions.

" By ſeveral acts of parliament made in the fourth, fifth, ſixth, ſeventh, and eight years of your preſent Majeſty's reign, duties are impoſed on us for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue, and the powers of admiralty and vice-admiralty courts are extended beyond their ancient limits; whereby our property is taken from us without our conſent, the trial by jury in many civil caſes is aboliſhed, enormous forfeitures are incurred for ſlight offences; vexatious informers are exempted from paying damages to which they are juſtly liable, and oppreſſive ſecurity is required from owners before they are allowed to defend their right.

" Both houſes of parliament have reſolved that coloniſts may be tried in England for offences alledged to have been committed in America, by virtue of a ſtatute paſſed in the thirty-fifth year of Henry VIII. and, in conſequence thereof, attempts have been made to enforce that ſtatute. A ſtatute was paſſed in the twelfth year of your Majeſty's reign, directing that perſons charged with committing

ting any offences therein deſcribed, in any place out of the realm, may be indicted and tried for the ſame in any ſhire or county within the realm; whereby the inhabitants of theſe colonies may, in ſundry caſes, by that ſtatute, made capital, be deprived of a trial by their peers of the vicinage.

"In the laſt Seſſions of Parliament, an act was paſſed for blocking up the harbour of Boſton; another empowering the Governor of Maſſachuſet's-bay to ſend perſons indicted for murder in that province to another colony, or even to Great Britain for trial, whereby ſuch offenders may eſcape legal puniſhment; a third, for altering the chartered conſtitution of government in that province; and a fourth, for extending the limits of Quebec, aboliſhing the Engliſh, and reſtoring the French laws; whereby great numbers of Britiſh freemen are ſubjected to the latter, and eſtabliſhing an abſolute government, and the Roman Catholic Religion throughout thoſe vaſt regions, that border on the weſterly and northerly boundaries of the free Proteſtant Engliſh ſettlements; and a fifth, for the better providing ſuitable quarters for officers and ſoldiers in his Majeſty's ſervice in North America.

"To a ſovereign "who glories in the name of Briton," the bare recital of theſe acts muſt, we preſume, juſtify the loyal ſubjects who fly to the foot of his throne, and implore his clemency for protection againſt them.

"From this deſtructive ſyſtem of colony adminiſtration, adopted ſince the concluſion of the laſt war, have flowed thoſe diſtreſſes, dangers, fears and jealouſies, that overwhelm your Majeſty's dutiful colonies with affliction; and we defy our moſt ſubtle and inveterate enemies to have the unhappy differences between Great Britain and theſe colonies from an earlier period, or from other cauſes than we have aſſigned. Had they proceeded on our part from a reſtleſs levity of temper, unjuſt impulſes of ambition, or artful ſuggeſtions of ſeditious perſons, we ſhould merit

merit the opprobrious terms frequently beſtowed on us by thoſe we revere.

" But ſo far from promoting innovations, we have only oppoſed them; and can be charged with no offence, unleſs it be one to receive injuries and to be ſenſible of them.

" Had our Creator been pleaſed to give us exiſtence in a land of ſlavery, the ſenſe of our condition might have been mitigated by ignorance and habit; but thanks to his adorable goodneſs, we were born the heirs of freedom, and ever enjoyed our right under the auſpices of your royal anceſtors, whoſe family was ſeated on the Britiſh throne, to reſcue and ſecure a pious and gallant nation from the Popery and Deſpotiſm of a ſuperſtitious and inexorable tyrant.

" Your Majeſty, we are confident, juſtly rejoices that your title to the Crown is founded on the title of your people to liberty; and therefore we doubt not but your royal wiſdom muſt approve the ſenſibility that teaches your ſubjects anxiouſly to guard the bleſſing they received from divine providence, and thereby to prove the performance of that compact, which elevated the illuſtrious Houſe of Brunſwick to the imperial dignity it now poſſeſſes.

" The apprehenſion of being degraded into a ſtate of ſervitude, from the pre-eminent rank of Engliſh freemen, while our minds retain the ſtrongeſt love of liberty, and clearly forſee the miſeries preparing for us and our poſterity, excites emotions in our breaſts, which, though we cannot deſcribe, we ſhould not wiſh to conceal feeling as men, and thinking as ſubjects, in the manner we do, ſilence would be diſloyalty. By giving this faithful information, we do *all in our power* to promote the great objects of your royal cares, the tranquillity of your government, and the welfare of your people."—

Theſe public acts being paſſed, the Congreſs broke up on the 52d day after they had met, with a reſolution to meet again on the 10th of May 1775.—Whatever we may determine with regard to the juſtice

ſlice of their cauſe, it cannot be denied, that the petition and addreſſes from the Congreſs were executed with uncommon energy and ability, and with reſpect to language, vigour of mind, and ſentiments of patriotiſm, *pretended*, at leaſt, would have done honour to any orational aſſembly that ever exiſted.

No great effects, however, were produced on the minds of the Britiſh by any of the performances of the Congreſs. The minds of the people ſeemed to be quite indifferent, nor did even the great commercial bodies ſeem to be much intereſted in an event that threatened to affect them ſo very much. The fact was, that moſt people imagined the Americans would not venture to make war on the mother country. It was thought that the Americans themſelves would grow tired; and perhaps an opinion of the *invincible* power of Great Britain inſenſibly occupied the minds of moſt people, ſo that no doubt was entertained of conqueſt, provided the matter was finally to be determined by force of arms. On Sept. 30. 1774, the parliament had been diſſolved by proclamation, and a new one appointed to meet on Oct. 29. following. American buſineſs, however, was not entered upon immediately. The Miniſtry, though determined to adhere to coercive meaſures, were ſomewhat apprehenſive of meeting with a vigorous oppoſition at laſt; and theſe fears, indeed, appeared to be well founded. During the receſs of parliament, a general alarm took place, and the merchants of London and Briſtol, finding themſelves likely to become great ſufferers, prepared petitions to parliament.—The firſt thing of any conſequence was the appearance of the Earl of Chatham in the Houſe of Lords, Jan. 20. 1775. He had for a long time been abſent; and this, together with the character he had formerly born with the nation, contributed to make his appearance in the preſent criſis, ſeem to be a matter of greater importance. He moved an addreſs to his Majeſty, for immediately recalling the troops from Boſton. An hour, he ſaid, loſt at that

time, in allaying the ferments in America, might produce years of calamity; the ſituation of them with the Americans made them continually liable to events which would cut off all poſſibility of reconciliation; but this conciliatory meaſure, as it ſhewed good will and affection on the part of the Britiſh, could not fail of producing the happieſt effects. The motion, however, was rejected by a majority of 68 to 18. This diviſion was rendered remarkable, by having a Prince of the Blood, (his Royal Highneſs the Duke of Cumberland) for the firſt time in the minority.

Jan. 23. The petition from the merchants of London was preſented to the Houſe of Commons, by an Alderman who was alſo a member of parliament. At the ſame time, he moved, that it might be referred to the committee who were appointed to take the American papers into conſideration. The Miniſtry, however, perceiving that now they were in danger of being overwhelmed with petitions from all quarters, appointed a ſeparate committee to examine them. The reaſon given for this meaſure was, that theſe petitions were to be viewed in a commercial, and not in a political light; and therefore, it would be the higheſt abſurdity to ſuppoſe that a committe, whoſe thoughts were occupied by politics, ſhould have their meditations diſturbed by commerce; as if the commercial intereſts of Britain were diſtinct, or could ever be ſeparated from her political ones. The point, however, being carried by a great majority, a committee was appointed to inſpect the petitions; and as no notice was ever taken of any of them by this committee, it was by the oppoſition called the *Committee of Oblivion.*

On the 26th of the ſame month, a petition was offered from Mr Bollon, Dr Franklin and Mr Lee, three American agents; ſtating, that they were authoriſed by the Congreſs, to preſent a petition from the Congreſs to the King; which petition, his Majeſty had referred to that Houſe; that they were enabled to

throw

throw great light upon the ſubject; and prayed to be heard at the bar in ſupport of the ſaid petition. This produced a violent debate, which ended in the rejection of the petition, by a majority of 218 to 68.

Feb. 1. The Earl of Chatham brought in a bill, which, he ſaid, he hoped would anſwer the ſalutary purpoſe expreſſed in its title. It was entituled, "A proviſional act for ſettling the troubles in America, and for aſſerting the ſupreme legiſlative authority and ſuperintending power of Great Britain over the colonies." This bill legalized the holding a Congreſs in the enſuing month of May, for the double purpoſe of duly recognizing the ſupreme legiſlative authority and ſuperintending power of parliament over the colonies, and for making a free grant to the King, his heirs and ſucceſſors, of a certain and perpetual revenue, ſubject to the diſpoſition of parliament, and to be applied to the alleviation of the national debt. Suppoſing that this free aid would bear an honourable proportion to the great and flouriſhing ſtate of the colonies, the neceſſities of the mother country, and their obligations to her; on theſe conditions, it reſtrained the powers of the Admiralty courts to their ancient limits, and, without repealing, ſuſpended for a limited time thoſe late acts, or parts of acts which had been complained of in the petition from the Congreſs. It placed the judges on the ſame footing with reſpect to the holding their ſalaries and offices with thoſe in England; and ſecured to the colonies all the privileges, franchiſes and immunities granted by their ſeveral charters and conſtitutions. It was laid down, however, as a maxim not to be controverted, that the ſupremacy of the Britiſh legiſlature, and the ſuperintending power of parliament, was to be acknowledged by the Americans. He did not abſolutely decide on the right of taxation, but as a matter of compromiſe declared, that no tallage, tax, or other charge ſhould be levied but by the common conſent of their provincial aſſemblies. He aſſerted as an undoubted prerogative the royal right, to ſend any part of a legal

army to any part of his dominions at all times, and in all ſeaſons. He condemned a paſſage in the American petition which militates with that right; but, as a ſalvo, he declared, that no military force, however legally raiſed and kept, could ever be lawfully employed to violate and deſtroy the juſt rights of the people. This laſt declaration, however, it was ſaid, would afford little relief to a people groaning under the preſſure of a military government; as whoever held the ſword, would decide upon the queſtion of law.

This conciliatory plan, however, and ſome others, were rejected, and on Feb. 10. a bill was brought in to reſtrain the trade and commerce of the provinces of Maſſachuſet's bay and New-Hampſhire; the colonies of Connecticut, Rhode Iſland, and Providence plantations, to Great Britain, the Britiſh Iſlands and the Weſt Indies: and to prohibit them from carrying on any fiſhery on the banks of Newfoundland, or other places therein to be mentioned, under certain conditions, and for a limited time. This bill met with great oppoſition, but was at laſt carried, notwithſtanding ſome petitions againſt it were preſented during the time of the debate.

While matters were thus haſtening towards the fatal concluſion to which they have ſince arrived, Lord North ſurpriſed both parties by making the following conciliatory motion, "That when the governor, council, and aſſembly, or General Court of his Majeſty's provinces or colonies ſhall propoſe to make proviſion, according to their reſpective conditions, circumſtances, and ſituations, for contributing their proportion to the common defence of the country, ſuch proportion was to be raiſed under the authority of the general court, or general aſſembly of ſuch province or colony, and diſpoſable by parliament; and ſhall engage alſo to make proviſion for the ſupport of the civil government, and the adminiſtration of juſtice in ſuch province or colony, it will be proper, if ſuch propoſal ſhould be approved of by his Majeſty in parliament, and for ſo long as ſuch proviſion ſhall be made

made accordingly, to forbear in reſpect of ſuch province or colony, to levy any duties, tax, or aſſeſſment, except only ſuch duties as it might be expedient to lay on for the regulation of commerce; the net produce of the duties laſt mentioned to be carried to the account of ſuch province, colony, or plantation reſpectively.

On the 9th of March, another bill was brought in to reſtrain the trade of the ſouthern colonies to Great Britain and the Britiſh Iſlands in the Weſt Indies, under certain conditions and limitations, and for a limited time. On this bill there happened no great debate; for though even the miniſterial party took notice of the ſtriking contradiction between the conciliatory plan, and theſe coercive meaſures, Lord North explained every thing ſo much to their ſatisfaction, that all his propoſals were carried by a great majority.

The ſhort limits of this treatiſe will not allow us to give a full account of all the conciliatory propoſals, petitions, &c. concerning the Americans, which were now laid before the legiſlature. It is ſufficient to ſay, that as all the meaſures adopted by government, either directly aſſerted, or at leaſt implied a right of unlimited taxation, none of them could be agreeable to the Americans. They now repoſed entire confidence in the determinations of the Congreſs, and a moſt ſurpriſing unanimity prevailed throughout the continent. Great hopes, however, were placed on the ſucceſs of the petition from the Congreſs, and their addreſs to the people of England; and a ſtill greater reliance was placed on the effects which the unanimity and determinations of the Congreſs would produce on public opinions in England. Theſe hopes had for ſome time a conſiderable effect in reſtraining thoſe violences which afterwards took place. The principal leaders, however, and more experienced men, did not appear to build much upon them, and accordingly made preparations for the worſt; and as ſoon as advice was received of a proclamation iſſu-

ed in England to prevent the exportation of arms and ammunition to America, meaſures were ſpeedily taken to ſupply that defect. For this purpoſe, and to render themſelves as independent as poſſible of foreigners for the ſupply of theſe eſſential articles, mills were erected, and manufactories formed both in Philadelphia and Virginia, for the making of gunpowder, and the fabrication of arms of all ſorts. Great difficulties, however, attended theſe beginnings; and the ſupply of powder both from the home manufacture and importation was for a long time both ſcanty and precarious.—As ſoon as an account was received at Rhode Iſland of the prohibition on the exportation of military ſtores from Great Britain, the people ſeized upon and removed all the ordnance belonging to the Crown in that province, and thus they were furniſhed with above forty pieces of cannon of different ſizes. A captain of a man of war having waited upon the governor to know the meaning of this proceeding, was frankly informed, that the people had ſeized the cannon to prevent their falling into the hands of the King's forces; and that they meant to make uſe of them to defend themſelves againſt any power that ſhould offer to moleſt them. The aſſembly alſo paſſed reſolutions for procuring arms and military ſtores by all means, and from every quarter in which they could be obtained.

This example was ſoon imitated in other places. On December 14. 1774, a body of armed men aſſembled in the province of New-Hampſhire and attacked a ſmall fort in the province called William and Mary. This was yielded without bloodſhed, and the Provincials were ſupplied with a quantity of powder. No other acts of violence, however, enſued, only, as intelligence of the proceedings in parliament was gradually brought to America, the firm determinations of the coloniſts for reſiſtance ſeemed to increaſe; and the more clearly they ſaw the reſolutions of the Britiſh legiſlature to reduce them by force, the more ſtrenuouſly they ſeemed determined to reſiſt.

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The aſſembly of New-Yory only ſeemed an exception. They met on January 10. 1775, and, inſtead of acceding to the reſolutions of the Congreſs; reſolved to lay their grievances before the King, and for ſome time, flattered themſelves that they would be able to procure a laſting reconciliation.

Theſe hopes, however, were built on a very ſlight foundation. The new provincial Congreſs of Maſſachuſet's-bay, which met Feb. 1. followed preciſely the line chalked out by their predeceſſors. They inculcated in the ſtrongeſt manner the neceſſity for the militia, and eſpecially the minute men *, to perfect themſelves in military diſcipline. Other reſolutions were paſſed for the providing and making of fire arms and bayonets; and againſt ſupplying the troops at Boſton with any military ſtores.—A circular letter was ſent from the Secretary of State for the American department, forbidding, in the King's name, and under pain of his diſpleaſure, the election of deputies for the enſuing general Congreſs. But this produced no effect, the elections took place every where, even in the province of New-York, notwithſtanding the late reſolutions of their aſſembly.

This letter not being attended to, General Gage reſolved to deprive the Americans, as much as poſſible, of the means of reſiſtance, by ſeizing their cannon and military ſtores. Accordingly, on the 26th of Feb. he ſent a detachment, under the command of a field officer on board a tranſport, to ſeize and bring to Boſton ſome braſs cannon the provincials had at Salem. The troops having landed at Marble-head, proceeded to Salem, but did not find the cannon. However, as they imagined they had only been removed that morning, they marched farther into the country, in hopes of overtaking them. In this purſuit, they arrived at a draw-bridge over a ſmall river, where a number of the country-people were aſſembled;

* The *minute men* are a ſelect number of militia who undertake to hold themſelves ready on all occaſions, and at the ſhorteſt notice.

bled, and thoſe on the oppoſite ſide had taken up the bridge in order to prevent the paſſage of the military. The commanding officer ordered the bridge to be let down, which the people peremptorily refuſed, telling him that it was a private road, and he had no right to paſs that way. On this refuſal, the officer determined to make uſe of a boat in order to get poſſeſſion of the bridge; but ſome of the people jumping into the boat, cut holes in her bottom, by which the officer was diſappointed. In doing this, a ſcuffle enſued, and things were on the point of being carried to extremities, when a clergyman, who was preſent, prevailed on the Americans to let down the bridge. This being complied with, the ſoldiers paſſed the river; but as it was too late to proſecute the deſign of ſeizing the cannon, he returned in a ſhort time.

Though this firſt expedition ended without bloodſhed, the following ones were not all equally fortunate. On the 18th of March indeed, the General had the good fortune to ſecure 3000 pounds weight of ball, and 13,425 muſket cartridges, which had been collected by the Americans, without meeting with any oppoſition; but on the 19th of April, having ſent a party to ſeize ſome cannon and other military ſtores at Concord, a village near Boſton, the event was very different. This party was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Smith, and Major Pitcairn of the marines. It was ſuppoſed to conſiſt of 900 men, who embarked in boats the preceeding night, and having gone a little way up Charles' River, landed at a place called Phipps' farm, from whence they proceeded with great ſilence and expedition towards Concord. Several officers on horſeback, in the mean time, ſcoured the roads, and ſecured ſuch country people as they could meet with. Notwithſtanding theſe precautions, however, they diſcovered by the firing of guns, and the ringing of bells, that the country was alarmed, and the people actually began to aſſemble in the neighbouring towns and villages

before

before day-light. On the arrival of the troops at Lexington, about five in the morning, they found the company of militia belonging to that town aſſembled on a green near the road. Upon this, an officer in the van called out, " Diſperſe you rebels; throw down your arms and diſperſe." The ſoldiers at the ſame time ran up with loud huzzas; ſome ſcattering ſhots were firſt fired, and theſe were immediately ſucceeded by a general diſcharge, which killed eight of the militia, and wounded ſeveral more.

Both parties were afterwards very eager to prove each other the aggreſſors in this affair; but, notwithſtanding all the inquiries that could be made, it ſtill remains in obſcurity. Neither indeed is it a matter of any great conſequence, for war had long before been declared in the breaſts of both parties; and this ſeemed only to be ſetting fire to the train.

The detachment now proceeded to Concord, where they executed their commiſſion by rendering uſeleſs the cannon they found there, and throwing ſome other ſtores into the river. A body of militia, who obſerved ſeveral fires in the town, which they imagined to proceed from houſes on fire, returned that way. The troops fired on them and killed two. The provincials returned the fire; but not being able to cope with the King's troops, they were forced to retreat with the loſs of ſeveral men killed and wounded, and a lieutenant and ſome others taken.

The country now roſe, and the troops found themſelves attacked from every quarter. All the way back to Lexington, which was ſix miles, the road was filled on both ſides with armed men, who firing from behind houſes, old walls, and other coverts, exceedingly annoyed them. In all probability, the whole party had been cut off, had not General Gage fortunately detached Lord Piercy with 16 companies of foot, a detachment of marines, and two pieces of cannon to ſupport Colonel Smith. They arrived at Lexington by the time the reſt were returned thither; and by this powerful ſupport, the provincials

vincials were repulſed. As ſoon, however, as the army began their march, the provincials renewed their attack, which they continued all the way to Charleſtown; from whence the King's troops paſſed directly over to Boſton, having loſt 273 men, killed, wounded, and taken priſoners. The Provincials eſtimated their loſs only at 40 killed, and 20 taken.

CHAP. II.

Hiſtory of the War, from the commencement of Hoſtilities in 1775, *to the beginning of the year* 1779.

THE ſkirmiſh at Lexington ſufficiently ſhewed how much thoſe were miſtaken who had thought the whole continent of America could be ſubdued with three or four thouſand troops. By the neareſt calculation that can be made, there were upwards of 1800 of the beſt troops the King had, were employed in the Concord expedition, and yet theſe were obliged to retreat with great precipitation, having marched near 35 miles in one day. It muſt be obſerved, however, that this difficulty of conquering America proceeds not from the valour of the Americans themſelves. On all occaſions, it hath been evident, that the latter are by no means a match for Britiſh ſoldiers even though they greatly exceed them in number. It is the nature of the country itſelf which proves the inſuperable obſtacle, and which no human power can remove. It affords ſo many coverts, and hiding places, that the provincials, who are well acquainted with them, have numberleſs opportunities of deſtroying their enemies without any danger to themſelves; and of theſe they have taken care to avail themſelves, as we ſhall have occaſion to obſerve in the ſequel.

The affair at Lexington immediately called up the whole province in arms; and though a ſufficient number were quickly aſſembled to inveſt the troops in Boſton,

ſton, it was with difficulty that the crowds, who were haſtily aſſembling for this purpoſe, could be prevailed upon to return home. The town was inveſted by 20,000 men under the command of Colonels Ward, Pribble, Heath, Preſcot, and Thomas, who for the preſent, acted as Generals; and having fixed their head-quarters at Cambridge, and formed a line of encampment, extending 30 miles in length. This line they ſtrengthened with artillery, and were ſoon reinforced with a large body of troops under the command of Colonel Putnam, an old officer, and one who had acquired reputation in the two laſt wars.

General Gage, in the mean time, was, by the provincial Congreſs, declared a public enemy, and, as far as was in their power, depoſed from his government. For ſome time he continued with the troops cloſely blocked up in Boſton; and being cut off from all ſupplies of freſh proviſions, began ſoon to experience a real diſtreſs. The provincials, knowing that the inhabitants had now no other reſource for ſubſiſtence than the King's ſtores, continued the blockade the more cloſely, hoping that a ſcarcity of proviſions would at laſt oblige the General to conſent to the removal at leaſt of the women and children, and for this application was repeatedly made. At laſt a kind of capitulation was entered into with the inhabitants; the terms of which were, that on delivering up their arms, they were to have free leave to depart with their other effects. The arms were accordingly delivered up; but after this was done, the governor ſhamefully refuſed to fulfil the conditions on his ſide. This breach of faith was very much complained of, and certainly with great reaſon. A particular account of the whole tranſaction was publiſhed by the Americans; and as no oppoſite one appeared on the government ſide, we may juſtly conclude that the American complaints were well founded.

On the 25th of May, a ſtrong reinforcement arrived at Boſton from England, along with the Generals Howe, Burgoyne, and Clinton, ſo that the force there

there was now become very reſpectable. Nothing, however, of conſequence happened till June 12. when a proclamation was iſſued by General Gage, offering a pardon to thoſe who ſhould lay down their arms and retire to their reſpective homes, excepting only *Samuel Adams* and *John Hancock*, whoſe offences were ſaid to be of too flagitious a nature to be expiated, except by condign puniſhment. All thoſe who did not accept of the proffered mercy, or who ſhould protect, correſpond with, or conceal them, were to be treated as rebels and traitors. This proclamation alſo declared, that as a ſtop was put to the due courſe of juſtice, martial law ſhould take place till the laws could be reſtored to their former efficacy.

This proclamation had as little effect as any of the former. Hancock was about this time choſen Preſident of the Continental Congreſs, and the proclamation was conſidered as a preliminary to immediate action, for which both parties now prepared. The poſt of Charleſton being thought convenient for their purpoſe by the Provincials, they made the neceſſary preparations, and ſent a body of men thither at night on the 16th of June, to throw up works on Bunker's-hill, an high ground lying juſt within the Iſthmus that joins the peninſula to the continent. The party ſent on this ſervice, carried on their works with ſuch extraordinary ſilence, that though the peninſula was ſurrounded with ſhips of war, they were not heard during the night. So great alſo was their diſpatch, that by break of day they had a ſmall but ſtrong redoubt, conſiderable entrenchments, and a breaſt work in ſome parts cannon proof, nearly compleated. The works were firſt perceived on board the Lively man of war, and her guns gave the firſt intelligence to General Gage, and the troops in Boſton.

As ſoon as the diſcovery was made, a continual and heavy fire was kept upon the works from the ſhips of war lying in the road, and from the top of Cop's hill in Boſton; notwithſtanding which, it is ſaid, the

Ame-

Americans were not intimidated, but continued their operations with great firmneſs.

About noon, General Gage cauſed a conſiderable body of troops to be embarked under the command of Major General Howe, and Brigadier General Pigot, to drive the Provincials from their works. The detachment conſiſted of ten companies of grenadiers, as many of light infantry, and the 5th, 38th, 43d, and 52d battallions, with a proper train of artillery, who landed without oppoſition under the cannon of the men of war. The two Generals found the enemy ſo ſtrongly poſted and ſo numerous, that they found it neceſſary to ſend for a reinforcement before the attack was commenced. Accordingly, they were reinforced by ſome companies of light infantry and grenadiers, the 47th regiment, and the firſt battalion of marines, amounting in the whole, according to General Gage's account, to more than 2000 men.

The attack was begun by a moſt ſevere fire of cannon and houitzers, under which the troops advanced very ſlowly to meet the enemy, and halted ſeveral times to give the artillery an opportunity of ruining the works, and throwing the Provincials into confuſion. As the Britiſh troops were greatly outnumbered by their enemies, they found a great deal of difficulty in accompliſhing their purpoſe. The Provincials threw ſome men into the houſes of Charleſtown, which covered their right flank. By this means, General Pigot, who commanded the left wing of the Britiſh army, was engaged at once with the lines, and with the men in the houſes. In this conflict, the town was ſet on fire, whether by the carcaſſes thrown from the ſhips, or by the troops, is uncertain; and as the fire broke out in ſeveral places, and no means were, or could be uſed for extinguiſhing it, the whole town was burnt to the ground. The Provincials behaved with great reſolution. They did not return a ſhot until the King's forces had almoſt approached the works, when a moſt dreadful fire took place, by which a great number of the

braveſt Britiſh ſoldiers and officers fell. At this time, our troops were thrown into ſome diſorder, and General Howe, for a few ſeconds, is ſaid to have been left almoſt alone. It is alſo ſaid, that in this critical moment, General Clinton, who arrived from Boſton during the engagement, by a happy manœuvre, rallied the troops almoſt inſtantaneouſly, and brought them again to the charge. However that be, it is certain, that the Britiſh troops now forced the American entrenchments, and the Provincials retreated over Charleſtown neck.

The loſs on the ſide of the Britiſh amounted to 1054 killed, wounded and miſſing; the Provincials rated theirs only at 450, but General Gage's account ſaid that it muſt have been greatly more; and that during the engagement, they were ſeen to carry of their dead and bury them; a circumſtance which cannot but be reckoned very extraordinary.

After this victory, the troops kept poſſeſſion of Bunker's-hill, which they fortified, ſo that the force at Boſton was now divided into two parts. This, in ſome ſenſe, was an advantage, as it enlarged their quarters; they having before been much incommoded for want of room, and bad proviſions; and the number of their ſick at this time was ſaid to amount to 1600.—The Provincials, however, immediately threw up works on another hill oppoſite to that whereon the engagement happened, ſo that the troops were as cloſely inveſted in that peninſula as they had been in Boſton. They did not, however, venture to make any attack, but contented themſelves with throwing bombs and ſhells at a diſtance, which produced very little effect farther than accuſtoming their men to this kind of ſervice.

In the month of July, Waſhington and Lee, who had been appointed Generals by the Congreſs, arrived at the camp before Boſton; and the blockade was continued throughout the year with very few intereſting circumſtances.

It is not to be ſuppoſed, that the ſkirmiſh at Lexington would raiſe a flame in the colony of Maſſachuſet's

ſet's-bay alone. The ſuppoſed advantages gained by the militia in that ſkirmiſh, elated the Americans to ſuch a degree, that they imagined themſelves fully able to cope with all the force Britain could muſter againſt them. The cruelties charged upon the Britiſh troops, however unjuſtly, alſo produced a great effect, and prodigiouſly increaſed the commotions in the other colonies. In ſome places, the magazines were ſeized, and in New Jerſey the treaſury. At the ſame time, without waiting for any concert or advice, a ſtop was almoſt every where put to the exportation of proviſions; and in ſome places, all exportation was ſtopped till the opinion of the general Congreſs ſhould be known. Lord North's conciliatory plan was utterly rejected by the aſſemblies of Pennſylvania and New Jerſey, nor was it received any where.

When the Congreſs met on May 10. at Philadelphia, it was reſolved to raiſe an army, and eſtabliſh a paper currency for its payment; the *United Colonies*, by which name the Americans now diſtinguiſhed themſelves, being ſecurity for the realizing this currency. They alſo ſtrictly prohibited the ſupplying of the Britiſh fiſheries with any kind of proviſion; and to render this order the more effectual, they ſtopped all exportation to thoſe colonies, iſlands, and places which ſtill retained their obedience. This meaſure exceedingly diſtreſſed the people of Newfoundland, and all thoſe concerned in the fiſheries; inſomuch, that to prevent an abſolute famine, ſeveral ſhips were under a neceſſity of returning light from that ſtation to carry out proviſions from that place to Ireland.

The city and province of New-York, notwithſtanding their former moderation, on receiving an account of the ſkirmiſh at Lexington, ſeemed to receive a double portion of the ſpirit of the other colonies. A very numerous aſſociation was formed, and a provincial Congreſs elected. But as ſome regiments from Ireland were expected ſpeedily to arrive there, and the place itſelf was open by ſea, its ſituation was become very critical. In theſe circumſtances, a body of Con-

necticut men arrived in the neighbourhood of New-York avowedly for its protection, and probably alſo to ſupport the preſent diſpoſition of the inhabitants. Their ſtrength, however, was not ſufficient to afford an effectual protection, nor, had it been greater, would it have availed againſt an attack by ſea. The city accordingly applied, through its delegates, to the continental Congreſs for inſtructions how to act on the arrival of the troops. The Congreſs adviſed them for the preſent, to act defenſively with regard to the troops, as far as it could be done conſiſtent with their own ſecurity;—to ſuffer them to occupy their barracks as long as they behaved peaceably and quietly; but not to ſuffer them to erect any fortification, or in any manner to cut off the communications between the city and country; and if they attempted hoſtilities, that they ſhould defend themſelves, and repel force by force. They alſo recommended to them to provide for the worſt that might happen, by ſecuring places of retreat for the women and children, by removing the arms and ammunition from the magazines; and by keeping a ſufficient number of men embodied for the protection of the inhabitants in general. The city was thus almoſt left a deſart, and was by its own inhabitants devoted to the flames; but happily for New-York, the troops happened to be more wanted at Boſton, and were accordingly ſent thither.

The colony of Georgia now alſo acceded to the general alliance. A provincial Congreſs having aſſembled in the month of July, they ſpeedily agreed to all the reſolutions of the two general Congreſſes, and ſent five deputies to attend the preſent. They at once entered into all the meaſures of the other colonies, and adopted ſimilar ones. They declared, that though their province was not included in any of the oppreſſive acts lately paſſed againſt America, they conſidered that rather as an inſult than a favour, as being done with a view to divide them from their American brethren; and from this acceſſion to the

the confederacy, the Americans now aſſumed the title of the "Thirteen United Colonies."

But the moſt remarkable expedition undertaken this year by the Provincials, was ſet on foot by ſome private perſons belonging to the back parts of Connecticut, Maſſachuſet's, and New-York. This was the ſurprize of Ticonderago, Crown-point, and other fortreſſes ſituated on the great lakes, and commanding the paſſes between the Britiſh colonies and Canada. Some of the firſt, who formed this deſign, and had ſet out with the greateſt privacy, in its execution, met by the way with others, who, without any previous concert, were embarked in the ſame project. Theſe adventurers amounted in all to about 240 men, under the command of Colonel Eaſton, and Colonel Ethan Allan. They ſurpriſed the forts of Crown Point and Ticonderago without the loſs of a man; and found in the forts a conſiderable quantity of artillery, amounting to 200 pieces of cannon, beſides ſome mortars, howitzers, and quantities of various ſtores which to them were highly valuable: they alſo took two veſſels which gave them the command of Lake Champlain. Fluſhed with this ſucceſs, the Congreſs attempted the conqueſt of Canada itſelf. The Generals Montgomery and Schuyler, with two regiments of New-York militia, a body of New-England men, and ſome others, amounting in all to near 3000 men, were appointed for this ſervice. A number of batteaux or flat boats, were built at Ticonderago and Crown Point, to convey the forces along lake Champlain to the river Sorel, which forms the entrance into Canada, and is compoſed of the ſurplus waters of the lakes which it diſcharges into the river St Lawrence, and would afford an eaſy communication between both, were it not for ſome rapids that obſtruct the navigation. But before Montgomery's forces were half arrived, he received intelligence, that a ſchooner of conſiderable force, with ſome other armed veſſels, which lay at the fort of St John's on Sorel river, were preparing to enter the lake, and thereby effec-

tually obſtruct his paſſage. In the latter end of Auguſt, therefore, he proceeded with what force he had to the Iſle Aux Noix, which lies in the entrance of the river, and took the neceſſary meaſures to prevent theſe veſſels from entering the lake. Schuyler, who at that time commanded in chief, having alſo arrived from Albany, they publiſhed a declaration to encourage the Canadians to join them, and puſhed on to the fort of St John's. The fire from this fort, as well as the ſtrong appearances of force and reſiſtance which they obſerved, occaſioned their landing at a conſiderable diſtance in a country covered with thick woods, deep ſwamps, and interſected with creeks and waters. In this ſituation, they were attacked by a conſiderable body of Indians, ſo that they were obliged to return to the iſland next day, and to defer their operations until the arrival of the artillery and reinforcements which they expected.

Schuyler, upon this, returned to Albany, to conclude a treaty he had for ſome time been negociating with the Indians, and found himſelf afterwards ſo much occupied by buſineſs, or diſtreſſed in his health, that the whole weight of the management of affairs in Canada fell upon General Montgomery, a man ſaid to be eminently qualified for any kind of military ſervice. His firſt meaſure was to detach thoſe Indians from General Carleton who had entered into his ſervice; and being ſtrengthened by the arrival of his reinforcements and artillery, he reſolved to lay ſiege to Fort St John. This was garriſoned by the greater part of the 7th and 26th regiments, being nearly all the regular troops then in Canada; and was well provided with ſtores, ammunition and artillery. The Provincial parties were ſpread over the adjacent country, and were every where received by the Canadians with the greateſt kindneſs. The latter not only joined them in conſiderable numbers, but gave them every poſſible aſſiſtance both in carrying on the ſiege, removing the artillery, or ſupplying them with proviſions and neceſſaries. In the mean time, Ethan Allan, who acted only as a mere

adventurer,

adventurer, without any commiſſion from the Congreſs, thought to raiſe and diſtinguiſh himſelf, by ſurprizing the town of Montreal. This raſh enterprize he undertook at the head of a ſmall party of Engliſh Provincials and Canadians, without the knowledge of the Commander in Chief, or aſking the aſſiſtance of other detached parties, which he might have eaſily obtained. The event was ſuch as his raſhneſs deſerved. He was met by the militia, under the command of Engliſh officers, and ſome few regulars, who were in the place. By them he was defeated and taken priſoner, with 40 of his men, the reſt eſcaping into the woods. Allan, with his fellow-priſoners, were, by General Carleton's order, loaded with irons, and ſent, in that condition, on board a man of war to England, from whence, however, they were ſoon after remanded back to America.

In the mean time, General Montgomery made all the neceſſary proviſions for reducing fort St John. Being greatly in want of ammunition, he attacked and took a ſmall fort, called *Chamble*, lying deeper in the country than St John's. Here he found above 120 barrels of gunpowder, with other military ſtores, which greatly facilitated the ſiege of St John's. The garriſon at this place conſiſted of between ſix and ſeven hundred men, of whom 500 were regulars, and the reſt Canadian volunteers. They endured the hardſhips of a very long ſiege, augmented by a ſcarcity of proviſions, with great conſtancy, and reſolution. General Carleton, in the mean time, uſed his utmoſt endeavours for its relief. Attempts had been made for ſome time by Colonel M'Lean, for raiſing a Scotch regiment, under the name of Royal Highland Emigrants, to be compoſed of natives of that country who had lately arrived in America, and who, in conſequence of the troubles, had not obtained ſettlements. With theſe, and ſome Canadians, to the amount of a few hundred men, the Colonel was poſted near the junction of the Sorel with the river

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St Lawrence. General Carleton was at Montreal, where, with the utmoſt difficulty, he had got together about a thouſand men, compoſed principally of Canadians, with a few regulars, and ſome Engliſh officers and volunteers. With theſe, he intended to have joined M'Lean, and then marched directly to the relief of St John's. But on his attempting to paſs over from the iſland to Montreal, he was attacked at Longueil by a party of the Provincials, who eaſily defeated him, and ruined the whole deſign. Another party had driven M'Lean towards the mouth of the Sorel, where the Canadians, having received advice of the Governor's defeat, immediately abandoned him, ſo that he was forced to make the beſt of his way to Quebec with the Emigrants.

The fort of St John's was now ſoon obliged to ſurrender, and the garriſon were made priſoners of war, and ſent to Ticonderago. The Provincials found a conſiderable quantity of artillery and uſeful ſtores in the place.—On the retreat of M'Lean, the party by whom he was defeated, immediately erected batteries on a point of land at the junction of the Sorel with the river St Lawrence, in order to prevent the eſcape down the latter of a number of armed veſſels which General Carleton had at Montreal; for the ſame purpoſe, they alſo conſtructed armed rafts and floating batteries. By theſe meaſures, the paſſage of General Carleton's armament to Quebec was effectually prevented. They were not only foiled in ſeveral attempts, but purſued, and driven from their anchors by the Provincials. Soon after, Montgomery himſelf arrived at Montreal, which was forced to ſubmit, their being no forces there capable of defending it.

This happened on the 13th of Nov. 1775; and nothing could now give the leaſt hope of preſerving the ſmalleſt part of Canada but the lateneſs of the ſeaſon. There remained but a handful of troops in the province; and the taking of General Carleton, which ſeemed almoſt certain, would infallibly deter-

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mine its fate. The Governor, however, found means to make his eſcape in a dark night in a boat, with muffled paddles; and having paſſed the enemies guards and batteries, arrived ſafely at Quebec. The whole of the naval force, conſiſting of eleven armed veſſels, together with all the officers, and ſeveral ſoldiers, who had taken refuge on board, when General Montgomery approached, now became priſoners of war.

In the mean time, another expedition was undertaken againſt Quebec from the New-England ſide, by a route which had hitherto been untried and deemed impracticable. This expedition was undertaken by Colonel Arnold, who, about the middle of September, marched from the camp near Boſton, at the head of 1100 men to Newbury-port at the mouth of the river Merrimack, where veſſels were in readineſs to convey them by ſea to the mouth of the river Kennebec in New-Hampſhire; a voyage of about 40 leagues. On the 22d of the ſame month, they embarked their ſtores and troops in 200 batteaux at Gardiner's town on the Kennebeck, and proceeded with great difficulty up that river; their batteaux being frequently filled with water and overſet; in conſequence of which, part of their arms, ammunition and proviſions, were ſometimes loſt. Their paſſage by land alſo was attended with prodigious difficulties. They had to encounter thick woods, deep ſwamps, ſteep mountains and precipices, and were ſometimes obliged to cut their way through the thickets for ſeveral miles together. From all theſe impediments, their progreſs was very ſlow, being in general only from four or five to nine or ten miles a day. The conſtant fatigue and labour cauſed many of their men to fall ſick; and proviſions grew at length ſo ſcarce, that ſome of the men eat their dogs, and whatever elſe of any kind could be converted into food.

When they arrived at the head of the Kennebeck, they ſent back their ſick, and one of the Colonels took that opportunity of returning with his diviſion, under pretence of the ſcarcity of proviſions, without the

the conſent or knowledge of the commander in chief, who had marched forwards. By this deſertion, and the return of the ſick, Arnold's detachment was very conſiderably weakened. They proceeded, however, with their uſual conſtancy; and ſurmounting all difficulties, on Nov. 3. they came to a houſe, which was the firſt they had ſeen for 31 days; having ſpent all that time in traverſing a hideous wilderneſs, without meeting with any thing human.

Here they were received with the utmoſt kindneſs by the Canadians; and Arnold immediately publiſhed an addreſs to the people, ſigned by General Waſhington, of the ſame nature with that which had before been iſſued by Schuyler and Montgomery. The city of Quebec was at this time in a ſtate of great weakneſs, as well as in great internal diſcontent and diſorder, being divided into two parties, one of which ſided with the Britiſh Legiſlature, the other with the Americans. Nor does it appear that any great dependence could then be placed on the French inhabitants for the defence of the city. Many of them were wavering, and ſome worſe; and as to other matters, there were no troops of any ſort in the place, till M'Lean's handful of new raiſed Emigrants arrived from the Sorel. Some marines, which Carleton had ſent for to Boſton, were refuſed by a naval council of war, from the lateneſs of the ſeaſon, and the danger of the navigation. The militia, however, had been lately embodied by the Lieutenant-Governor.

Such was the ſituation of Quebec, when Arnold and his party appeared at Point Levi, oppoſite to the town, on Nov. 9. The river was fortunately between them and the town, and the boats ſecured; otherwiſe, it is highly probable, that they would have become maſters of it in the firſt ſurpriſe and confuſion. They were indeed ſupplied with veſſels in a few days by the Canadians; and they paſſed in a dark night, notwithſtanding the vigilance of the armed veſſels in the river. The critical moment was now paſt. The inhabitants united in their common defence. Two

flags

flags were ſent to ſummon them to ſurrender, but they were fired at, and no meſſage admitted.

General Montgomery, in the mean time, did not fail to inveſt the town as ſoon as he arrived; but Governor Carleton took ſuch meaſures for its defence, that all his endeavours proved abortive. His firſt ſtep was to oblige all thoſe to quit the place who refuſed to take arms in its defence. The garriſon, including all orders who did duty, conſiſted of about 1500 men; a number, even ſuppoſing them to have been the beſt troops imaginable, extremely unequal to the defence of ſuch extenſive works, had not an equal weakneſs prevailed on the ſide of the beſiegers.

On Dec. 5. Montgomery ſent a letter to the Governor, magnifying his own ſtrength, and ſetting forth the weakneſs of the garriſon, ſhewing the impoſſibility of relief, and recommending an immediate ſurrender. This flag was fired at as well as the reſt; but Montgomery found other means to convey a letter to the ſame purpoſe into the town, and get it delivered to the Governor; which, however, had no effect.

In a few days, a ſix gun battery was opened againſt the town; but the cannon were too ſmall to produce any conſiderable effect. In the mean time, the ſnow lay ſo deep on the ground, and the climate was ſo exceſſively ſevere, that the American General perceived there was an abſolute impoſſibility of continuing the ſiege for any length of time, and that there was a neceſſity for doing ſomething deciſive immediately. For this reaſon, he determined to give an aſſault without loſs of time, though his troops were ſcarce ſuperior in number to the garriſon, and very little, if any thing, better diſciplined. However, depending on the good fortune which had hitherto attended him, and alſo on the diſpoſition of the garriſon itſelf, he reſolved to attempt the place by eſcalade.

Whilſt he was making the preparations for this purpoſe, it is ſaid that the garriſon received intelligence of his deſigns by ſome deſerters; and that he perceived

perceived they knew not only his general deſign, but the particular mode by which he intended to put it in execution. This rendered a total change of his diſpoſitions neceſſary, and it is poſſible that this might ſomewhat influence the ſucceeding events. On the laſt day of December 1775, and under cover of a violent ſnow ſtorm, he began the aſſault. He divided his army into four parties; two of which carried on falſe attacks againſt the upper town, whilſt himſelf and Arnold carried on two real ones againſt oppoſite parts of the lower town. About five o'clock Montgomery himſelf advanced at the head of the New-York troops, againſt the lower town; but from ſome difficulties which intervened, the ſignal for engaging had been given, and the garriſon alarmed before he could reach the place. He, however, preſſed on in a narrow defile with a precipice on one hand, and a hanging rock over him on the other: He ſeized and paſſed the firſt barrier; but the ſecond being much ſtronger, and defended by cannon loaded with grape-ſhot, an end was at once put to his hopes and life. Montgomery himſelf, his aid-de-camp, ſome other officers, and moſt of thoſe who were near him, were killed. After his death, the command devolved on a Mr Campbell, who immediately retired, without making any farther attempt.

Arnold's party, in the mean time, ignorant of Montgomery's misfortune, attacked another part of the town with great vigour; but their commander was likewiſe diſabled, having his leg ſhattered, ſo that he was carried off to the camp. Notwithſtanding this, however, the attack was carried on by his officers; till the garriſon having recovered from their ſurprize, and having nothing to fear from any other quarter, cut off the retreat of the whole party, ſo that they were obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. In this attack, the Americans owned they had loſt upwards of 800 men.

After this diſaſter, the beſiegers immediately quitted their camp, and retired about three miles from the

the city. Here they fortified themſelves in the beſt manner they were able; being apprehenſive of a purſuit from the garriſon. The governor, however, not thinking them fit for ſuch a ſervice, contented himſelf with keeping on the defenſive, as well knowing that he would ſoon be relieved by powerful ſuccours from England.—But though the provincials were now no longer in a capacity to ſtorm the town, they continued for ſome time to be very formidable. The ſiege wss converted into a blockade, and Arnold found means effectually to cut off the means of obtaining ſupplies either of proviſions or any other neceſſaries.

During the courſe of this year, the flame of war had ſpread through all the northern colonies. In Virginia a long altercation took place between the people and their Governor, Lord Dunmore, which at laſt terminated in acts of open hoſtility, and a ruinous prædatory war. On the 8th of June, his Lordſhip retired on board the Fowey man of war, where his family had been ſent before. This removal occaſioned many meſſages between him and the Houſe of Burgeſſes, who were then ſitting to deliberate on Lord North's conciliatory propoſal. Lord Dunmore reſolutely perſiſted in his deſign of remaining on board, notwithſtanding of his preſence being required in the aſſembly. At laſt, the buſineſs of the ſeſſion being finiſhed, he was finally deſired to come on ſhore, and give his aſſent to ſuch bills as he approved; but he ſtill refuſed to truſt himſelf among them in the capital; however, he was willing to meet them for that purpoſe at his own houſe, or on board the man of war, if they thought proper to wait on him. On receiving this meſſage, the Burgeſſes immediately reſolved, that it was a high breach of privilege; and that the Governor's conduct gave them reaſon to think, that he meditated ſome hoſtile deſigns againſt the colony.

The aſſembly now broke up, ſtill profeſſing their loyalty to the King; but the Britiſh Government

was put an end to, and an aſſembly of delegates ſupplied the place of the Houſe of Burgeſſes. The new aſſembly began immediately to prepare for war, as did alſo the Governor, who ſtill imagined himſelf able, by means of the armed veſſels, to retain at leaſt part of the country under his ſubjection. The firſt hoſtilities on his part were produced by neceſſity; for as the Virginians refuſed to ſupply him with proviſions, he was obliged to take them by force. On the 25th of October, however, he made an attempt to burn a port-town in an important ſituation named Hampton. But in this he was diſappointed, and repulſed with the loſs of a tender which was taken, and ſome men killed.

On November 7. his Lordſhip iſſued a proclamation by which martial law was eſtabliſhed in the country, and all the indented ſervants, negroes, &c. belonging to rebels, were declared free, and invited to join his Majeſty's forces.—In conſequence of this proclamation, the Governor was ſoon joined by ſome hundreds both of blacks and whites; many others alſo abjured the acts of the Congreſs; and his Lordſhip hoped that it might be in his power to ſubdue one part of the province by means of the other, without any foreign aſſiſtance.

For this purpoſe, he took poſſeſſion of a poſt called the Great Bridge, which lay at ſome diſtance from the town of Norfolk, and was a paſs of great conſequence; a large party of rebels had formed themſelves under the command of Colonel Woodford, with a deſign to oppoſe his Lordſhip; but he conſtructed a fort on the Norfolk ſide of the bridge, which he put into ſuch a poſture of defence, that they did not think proper to attack him.

At this time, the whole force under the command of Lord Dunmore did not exceed 200 regulars, the reſt being a mixture of blacks and whites, upon whom no dependence could be placed. The rebels likewiſe fortified themſelves; and Lord Dunmore raſhly formed the reſolution of ſurprizing them in their intrench-

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ments, tho' he knew their numbers were greatly ſuperior to his own. The attack was made on the 9th of December. Captain Fordyce with his company of grenadiers, amounting to about 60 men, led on the reſt; but they were all either killed, taken, or wounded. The fire from the fort allowed the reſt an opportunity of retiring without being purſued; but the above mentioned diſaſter obliged his Lordſhip to relinquiſh his poſt at Great-Bridge, and again retire on ſhip-board; and the number of his veſſels being conſiderably increaſed by thoſe he found in the port of Norfolk, he formed a fleet conſiderable in regard to the number of veſſels, and likewiſe of the people who were on board, by reaſon that many had taken refuge on board theſe veſſels; yet it was abſolutely without force, and even without hands proper for navigation. The rebels took poſſeſſion of Norfolk, and the fleet retired to a greater diſtance. The people in the fleet, however, being cut off from every kind of ſuccour from the ſhore, ſoon began to be diſtreſſed for want of proviſions. This occaſioned conſtant bickering between the armed ſhips and boats, and the American troops ſtationed along the ſhore, particularly at Norfolk. At length, upon the arrival of the Liverpool man of war from England, a flag was ſent on ſhore to put the queſtion, Whether they would ſupply his Majeſty's ſhips with proviſions or not? and being anſwered in the negative, and the ſhips in the harbour being continually annoyed by the fire of the rebels from that part of the town which lay next the water, it was determined to diſlodge them by deſtroying it. The inhabitants accordingly were deſired to remove from the danger; and on the firſt day of the new year, the town was deſtroyed and burnt by the cannon of the men of war.

Nor were the Governors of the ſouthern colonies in a much better ſituation than Lord Dunmore. The government of South Carolina was lodged in a Council of Safety, conſiſting of 13 perſons, with the occaſional aſſiſtance of a Committee of 99. As they

had intelligence that an armament was preparing in England, which was particularly intended againſt Charles-Town, no means were left untried for its defence, in diſciplining the forces, procuring arms and gunpowder, and particularly in fortifying and ſecuring Charles-Town. Similar meaſures were purſued in North Carolina. The Provincial Congreſs, and Committees were in a ſtate of moſt violent war with the Governor. Upon a number of charges, particularly of fomenting a civil war, and exciting an inſurrection among the negroes, he was declared an enemy to America in general, and to that province in particular; and all perſons were forbid to hold communication with him. As he expected by means of the back ſettlers, as well as of the Scots Emigrants, to be able to raiſe a conſiderable force, he took pains to fortify his palace at Newbern, that it might anſwer the double purpoſe of a garriſon and magazine. But before this could be effected, the moving of ſome cannon excited ſuch a commotion among the people, that he found it neceſſary to abandon the palace, and retire on board a ſloop of war in Cape Fear river. On this occaſion, the people diſcovered powder, ſhot, and other military ſtores and implements which had been buried in the palace garden and yard. This ſerved to inflame them exceedingly; every man conſidering it as if it had been a plot againſt himſelf. In other reſpects, the province had followed the example of their neighbours in South Carolina, by eſtabliſhing a Council and Committees of Safety, with other ſubſtitutes for a regular and permanent government. They alſo purſued the ſame methods of providing for defence, of raiſing, arming, and ſupporting forces, and of training the militia.

In the province of Maſſachuſet's-bay, things went even worſe, if poſſible, than in the South. On the 13th of October, the town of Falmouth ſhared the fate of Norfolk in Virginia. Some particular violence or miſbehaviour, relative to the loading of a maſt ſhip, drew the indignation of the Admiral upon this

this place, and occaſioned an order for its deſtruction. The officer who commanded the ſhips upon this occaſion, gave two hours previous notice to the inhabitants to provide for their ſafety; and the time was further enlarged till next morning, under the pretence of a negociation for delivering up their artillery and ſmall arms, on condition of ſaving the town. This, however, they at laſt refuſed to perform; but had made uſe of the interval for the removal of their effects. About nine in the morning, a cannonade was begun, and continued with little intermiſſion through the day. The principal part of the town was deſtroyed; but when the ſailors landed, to compleat the deſtruction, they were repulſed.

On the 13th of November, the aſſembly of Maſſachuſet's-bay paſſed an act for granting Letters of Marque and Repriſal, and the eſtabliſhment of Courts of Admiralty for the trial and condemnation of Britiſh ſhips. Still, however, the people profeſſed an attachment to Great Britain; for though they took up arms againſt the government, it was ſtill with a view to the redreſs of grievances; and no declaration of Independency was iſſued this year.

It would be tedious to recount the diſputes which now enſued in Parliament on the ſubject of American affairs. It is ſufficient to take notice, that all oppoſition was borne down, and coercive meaſures determined on. Twenty-five thouſand men were deſtined for America, and the ſeamen were increaſed to 28,000; a bill was paſſed, forbidding all intercourſe with the rebellious colonies; and though the Congreſs ſent a petition by Mr Penn, governor of Pennſylvania, no notice was taken of it; and he was informed that no anſwer would be given to it. This gentleman, in a long examination before the Lords, diſcovered many particulars concerning the ſtrength and determined reſolution of the Americans, which the Miniſtry ſeem to have diſbelieved, or thought to be exaggerated; as no regard was ever paid to them. And though no proof had been brought of the delin-

quency of Georgia, at leaſt in an equal degree with the reſt of the colonies, this colony was included among the reſt; and all ſhips belonging to the Thirteen Colonies were declared to be lawful prizes.

The firſt remarkable tranſaction of the year 1776, was the evacuation of the town of Boſton. The army there had been exceedingly diſtreſſed through the winter, notwithſtanding Britain had put herſelf to an immenſe charge in order to ſupply them with proviſions of all kinds. No fewer than 14,000 live ſheep had been ſhipped for that place, together with a vaſt number of oxen, hogs, and vegetables of all kinds, preſerved after the beſt methods. But either thro' accident or negligence, the ſending away of the veſſels which carried theſe was delayed till the ſeaſon for making ſuch voyages was almoſt ſpent. The conſequence of this was, that the animals on board, eſpecially the ſheep, died in great numbers, the vegetables putrified; and though the ſhips had all reached the port in ſafety, the troops could not have reaped the benefit from them that was originally intended. Several of them, however were taken, even in the harbour, by the Americans. Among theſe were the coal-ſhips; and the loſs of them was particularly felt, as firing could not be procured in that place, and the climate rendered the article indiſpenſible. This want was however ſupplied in ſome meaſure by pulling down houſes and burning the wood of them. In the beginning of March, a battery was opened againſt the town by General Waſhington, from whence a ſevere canonade was carried on, and ſoon after a bomb battery was erected, by which means the ſituation of the Britiſh army was rendered very critical. No other method remained, therefore, but either to diſlodge the enemy, or abandon the town. General Howe propoſed attempting the former, but was prevented the firſt time by a ſtorm, and the next day it was obſerved that new works had been thrown up which were ſo ſtrong, that it was in vain to attempt forcing them. The town was therefore evacuated, without

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any moleſtation from the enemy, and 1500 of the inhabitants embarked along with the royal army. But before he departed, General Howe thought proper to blow up the fortifications of Caſtle William, leſt the enemy ſhould make themſelves maſters of it. It was above a week before the fleet could get entirely clear of Boſton harbour and road; but their paſſage to Halifax proved much ſhorter and eaſier than they could have expected, and here they made themſelves ſome amends for the miſeries they had ſuffered at Boſton. The very day that General Waſhington took poſſeſſion of Boſton, being March 17. he ſent off ſome troops for New-York, being apprehenſive of an attempt upon that place by General Howe; but the royal army, at that time, were not in any condition to make ſuch attempts; their numbers not exceeding 9000 healthy men, and theſe were by no means ſufficiently provided with military ſtores. The Americans, in the mean time, confiſcated the goods and eſtates of thoſe who had accompanied General Howe to Halifax, and of ſuch others as were proved to be favourers of the Royal Cauſe.

During theſe tranſactions, the blockade of Quebec was carried on by General Arnold, though under great difficulties. He received ſome ſupplies indeed, but ſuch as were by no means adequate to his neceſſities. The troops ſent him ſuffered exceedingly in their march, but underwent their hardſhips with great fortitude. General Carleton, however, uſed every endeavour to prevent a ſurprize, and to reſiſt their force. In this he ſucceeded, and kept poſſeſſion of the town till May 6. when the arrival of ſome ſhips of war from England put an end to the ſiege. A ſmall detachment of land forces and marines being landed with the utmoſt expedition, General Carleton marched out at the head of them, and the garriſon, in order to attack the camp of the rebels. Here he found every thing in the utmoſt confuſion. They had not even covered themſelves with an intrenchment; and having begun a retreat on the firſt

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appearance of the ſhips, they fled with the utmoſt precipitation, abandoning their artillery, military ſtores, ſcaling ladders, &c. The King's troops, however, were in no condition to purſue. Some of the ſmaller ſhips, however, made their way up the river with ſuch expedition and ſucceſs, that they took ſome of the ſhips belonging to the enemy, and retook the Gaſpee ſloop of war, which had been ſeized upon in the beginning of the preceding winter.

Thus ended the American expedition againſt the province of Quebec. General Carleton ſhewed himſelf worthy of his ſucceſs, by a very humane proclamation, iſſued immediately after. Underſtanding that a number of the ſick and wounded provincials lay ſcattered about, and hid in the neighbouring woods and villages, where they were in the greateſt danger of periſhing; he commanded the proper officers to find out thoſe unhappy perſons, and to afford them all neceſſary relief and aſſiſtance at the public expence: and, in the mean time, to prevent obſtinacy or apprehenſion from marring its effect, he aſſured them, that, as ſoon as they were recovered, they ſhould have liberty to return home.

Towards the latter end of May, General Carleton received conſiderable reinforcements from England, ſo that his force amounted to 13,000 men. The Provincials continued their retreat till they arrived at the river Sorel, where they joined ſome of thoſe reinforcements that had not been able to proceed farther in their march towards them. Though the ſpirits of the ſoldiers were greatly ſunk by their late bad ſucceſſes, and they were alſo diſtreſſed by the ſmall-pox breaking out among them, the enterpriſing genius of their leaders ſtill continued. They formed a ſcheme for ſurpriſing the King's forces at the Three Rivers, a place about half way between Quebec and Montreal. This was attempted by General Thomſon, but without ſucceſs. He was taken, on the 8th of June, with the loſs of 200 of their men. The reſt fled with

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the utmoſt precipitation. They diſmounted the batteries they had raiſed at Sorel, and carried off their artillery and ſtores. Here a part of the Britiſh forces were landed under General Burgoyne, with orders to advance along the Sorel to St John's, while the remainder of the fleet and army ſailed up the river to Longueil, the place of paſſage from the iſland of Montreal, to Prairie on the continent. Here they diſcovered that the rebels had abandoned the city and iſland of Montreal on the preceding evening. The reſt of the army was immediately landed on the continent, and marching by La Prairie, croſſed the peninſula formed by the St Lawrence and the Sorel, in order to join General Burgoyne at St John's, where they expected that the rebels would have made ſome reſiſtance. Burgoyne arrived at St John's on the evening of June 18. where he found the buildings in flames, and almoſt every thing deſtroyed that could not be carried off. The ſame thing was done at Chamblee; and ſuch veſſels were burned as they were not able to drag up the rapids in their way to Lake Champlain, where they embarked immediately for Crown Point.

Thus an end was put to the war in Canada; but as the Americans were maſters of the Lake Champlain, it was impoſſible for the Britiſh forces to proceed ſouthward, until ſuch a number of veſſels were conſtructed, or otherwiſe obtained, as would afford a ſuperiority, and enable them to croſs that Lake with ſafety. This difficulty, however, was removed by the activity of thoſe concerned in the expedition. The taſk indeed was very arduous. A fleet of above 30 fighting veſſels was to be conſtructed, in a manner without materials. After this difficulty was removed, they were to be tranſported over land, and dragged up the rapids of Thereſe and St John's, together with 30 long boats, a number of flat boats of conſiderable burden, a gondola weighing 30 tons, with above 400 battoes. In this work, both ſoldiers and ſailors were employed, and the peaſants and farmers of Canada were

were taken from their ploughs, and compelled to bear a ſhare in the work.

This equipment was completed in about three months, but the nature of the ſervice required, if poſſible, greater diſpatch than even that by which the armament had been conſtructed. The winter was faſt approaching, two great lakes to be croſſed, the unknown force of the enemy on each to be ſubdued, and the ſtrong poſts of Crown Point and Ticonderago defended and ſupported by an army, to be attacked ſword in hand. To add to theſe impediments, the communication between the lakes Champlain and George, did not admit the paſſage of thoſe veſſels of force, which, after being ſucceſsful on the one, might be equally wanted on the other. And, ſuppoſing all thoſe difficulties overcome, and Lake George paſſed, there ſtill remained a long and dangerous march through intricate foreſts, extenſive moraſſes, and an uncleared country before they could reach Albany, which was the firſt place that could afford them reſt and accommodation.

The ſcheme was proſecuted with the moſt unremitting ardour; but it was not till the month of October that the fleet was in a condition to ſeek the enemy on the Lake Champlain. The force was very conſiderable, and what a few ages ago would have been reckoned very conſiderable even on the European ſeas. The ſhip Inflexible, which may be conſidered as Admiral, ſhe had been reconſtructed at St. John's, from whence ſhe ſailed in 28 days after laying her keel, and mounted 18 twelve pounders. One ſchooner mounted 14, and another 12, ſix pounders. A flat bottomed radeau carried ſix 24, and ſix 12 pounders, beſides howitzers; and a gondola, ſeven nine pounders. Twenty ſmaller veſſels, under the denomination of gun-boats, carried braſs field-pieces from 9 to 24 pounders, or were armed with howitzers. Some long boats were furniſhed in the ſame manner. About an equal number of large boats acted as tenders. Theſe were all

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intended for battle, and beſides theſe, there were a vaſt number deſtined for tranſporting the army with its ſtores, proviſions, artillery, and baggage.

The armament was conducted by Captain Pringle, and the fleet navigated by above 700 prime ſeamen, of whom 200 were volunteers from the tranſports, who boldly and freely partook with the reſt in the dangers of the expedition.

The enemy's force was by no means equal either with reſpect to the goodneſs of the veſſels, the number of guns, furniture of war, or weight of metal. Senſible, though they were of the neceſſity of preſerving the dominion of the Lakes, and had the advantage of long poſſeſſion, they ſtill laboured under many eſſential, and ſome irremediable defects. They wanted timber, artillery, ſhip-builders, and all the materials neceſſary for ſuch an equipment. Carpenters, and all others concerned in the buſineſs of ſhipping, were fully engaged at the ſea-ports, in the conſtruction and fitting out of privateers, whilſt the remoteneſs and difficulty of communication rendered the ſupply of bulky materials extremely tedious. When we conſider the difficulties, however, which the Americans laboured under, we cannot deny their having overcome in part at leaſt, theſe difficulties with an aſſiduity and ſpirit highly praiſe-worthy. Their fleet amounted to 15 veſſels of different kinds, conſiſting of two ſchooners, one ſloop, one cutter, three gallies, and eight gondolas. The principal ſchooner mounted 12 ſix and four pounders; and the whole fleet was commanded by Benedict Arnold, who was now to ſupport on the watry element, that renown which he had before acquired on land.

On the 11th of October, General Carleton proceeded up the lake, and diſcovered the American fleet drawn up with great judgement. It was very advantageouſly poſted, and formed a ſtrong line to defend the paſſage between the iſland of Valicour and the weſtern main. Indeed, they had, at the beginning poſted themſelves with ſo much art behind the

the iſland, that an accident only diſcovered their ſituation, without this ſeaſonable diſcovery the king's ſhips would have left them behind; an event, which would undoubtedly have been attended with the moſt ſerious conſequences. A warm action enſued, and was vigorouſly ſupported on both ſides for ſome hours; but the wind being unfavourable, ſo that ſome veſſels of force were hindered from coming up to the enemy, the weight of the action fell upon the ſchooner Carleton and the gun-boats, which they ſuſtained with the greateſt bravery. In this engagement, the beſt ſchooner belonging to the enemy was burnt, and a gondola carrying three or four guns ſunk. At the approach of night the whole fleet anchored in a line, and as near as poſſible to the enemy, in order to prevent their retreat. From this danger, however, they found means to make their eſcape; and took the opportunity of the darkneſs of the night to paſs the fleet unobſerved. Arnold concerted and executed this deſign with ability; and fortune at firſt ſeemed ſo favourable to his purpoſe, that the ſhips were out of ſight by the next morning. The chace, being, however, continued all that and the ſucceeding day, the Americans were at length overtaken, and brought to action a few leagues from Crown Point. Here the combat was renewed with great fury, and continued for two hours, during which time thoſe veſſels that were moſt a-head puſhed on with the utmoſt ſpeed, and paſſing Crown Point eſcaped to Ticonderago; but two gallies and five gondolas which remained with Arnold, made a deſperate reſiſtance. During this action, the Waſhington galley, having Waterburg, a brigadier general, and the ſecond in command, on board, ſtruck and was taken. Arnold at length finding it impoſſible to reſiſt the force and ſkill of his adverſaries, run the veſſels aſhore, and blew them up in ſpite of the utmoſt efforts of the Britiſh to prevent both.

Thus was Lake Champlain recovered, and the enemy's force nearly deſtroyed; a galley, and three

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ſmall veſſels being all that eſcaped to Ticonderago. On the defeat of the fleet, the Americans ſet fire to the houſes, and deſtroyed every thing at Crown Point which they could not carry off, after which they retired to their main body at Ticonderago. General Carleton took poſſeſſion of the ruins, where he was ſoon joined by the army. As he continued there till towards the end of the month, little doubt can be entertained of his having formed a deſign to attempt the reduction of that place. It was evident, however, that this poſt could not be forced in its preſent ſituation without a very conſiderable loſs of blood, while the benefit ariſing from the reduction of it would be comparatively nothing. The ſeaſon was now far advanced, ſo that it was vain to think of paſſing Lake George, and expoſing the army to the perils of a winter campaign in ſuch an unhoſpitable climate. General Carleton therefore re-embarked without making any attempt upon Ticonderago, and returning into Canada, cantoned the troops in the beſt manner he could.

In the beginning of the year 1776, governor Martin of North Carolina formed a deſign of reducing that province to obedience. In this he was confirmed by the knowledge he had that a ſquadron of men of war, under the conduct of Sir Peter Parker, and Lord Cornwallis, were ſoon to depart from Ireland on an expedition againſt the ſouthern colonies; and that North Carolina was their firſt, if not their principal object. He knew alſo that General Clinton, with a ſmall detachment from Boſton, was on his way to meet them at Cape Fear.

To effectuate his purpoſe, Governor Martin formed a connection with a body of deſperate people named *Regulators*. Theſe had lately been conſidered as rebels againſt the King's government, and were now equally ſo againſt the Provincial eſtabliſhment. With theſe and the Highland Emigrants, he hoped to reduce the whole province, even independent of the force expected, eſpecially as North Carolina was reckoned

the weakeſt colony in America, except Georgia. By the middle of February, the Royal Standard was erected; the command was given to General M'Donald and a conſiderable army collected, amounting, according to ſome accounts, to 1500; according to others, to 3000. Theſe, however, were utterly defeated and diſperſed twelve days after, by a party of Americans greatly inferior to them in number; and this victory proved a matter of no ſmall exultation to their party.

The expedition againſt the Carolinas by Sir Peter Parker was attended with very little better ſucceſs. The fleet ſailed from Ireland in the cloſe of the year 1775; but from an unexpected delay in Ireland, and bad weather afterwards, they did not arrive at Cape Fear till the beginning of May, where, from various cauſes, they were detained till the end of the month. Here they found General Clinton, who had already been at New-York, and from thence proceeded to Virginia, where he had ſeen Lord Dunmore; but finding he could be of no ſervice at either place with his ſmall force, came thither to wait for them.

At this time, the ſeaſon of the year proved very much againſt the operations of the troops. The exceſſive heat rendered them ſickly even at Cape Fear, notwithſtanding the plenty of refreſhments they had procured, and the little labour they had upon their hands. As it was neceſſary, however, to do ſomething, they reſolved to attack Charleſtown, the capital of South Carolina. The fleet anchored off Charleſtown-bar in the beginning of June. Before they proceeded to action, they were joined by the Experiment man of war; and the naval force then conſiſted of Sir Peter Parker, the Commodore's ſhip of 50 guns, the Experiment of the ſame force, the Active, Solebay, Actæon and Syren frigates, of 28 guns each, the Sphynx of 20, a hired armed ſhip of 22, a ſmall ſloop of war, an armed ſchooner, and the Thunder bomb ketch.—

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The land forces were commanded by General Clinton, Lord Cornwallis, and Brig. General Vaughan. —At the time that General Clinton ſailed from Boſton, Lee, the American General, ſet out at the head of a ſtrong detachment from the army before that place, in order to ſecure New-York from an attempt which it was ſuppoſed the former would make on that city. On his arrival in Virginia, Clinton found Lee in the ſame poſture of defence in which he had left him at New-York. On the departure of the Britiſh for Cape Fear, Lee again traverſed the continent with the utmoſt expedition to ſecure North Carolina; and when the forces proceeded Southward, Lee, with equal celerity, proceeded to the defence of Charleſtown.

The paſſing of the bar was not effected without much time, difficulty and danger, eſpecially to the two large ſhips; which, notwithſtanding the taking out of their guns, and uſing every other poſſible means to lighten them, both touched the ground ſeveral times. The firſt object of our forces, after paſſing the bar, was the attack of a fort which had been lately erected, though not made altogether complete, upon the ſouth-weſt point of Sullivan's iſland. This fort commanded the paſſage to Charleſtown, which lay about ſix miles farther weſt; and notwithſtanding the lateneſs of its conſtruction, was, with propriety, conſidered as the key of that harbour. The troops were landed on Long Iſland, which lies nearer, and to the eaſtward of Sullivan's; being ſeparated only by ſome ſhoals, and a creek called the *Breach*, which are deemed paſſable at low water, the ford being repreſented to our officers as only 18 inches deep in that ſtate. The Carolinians had poſted ſome forces, with a few pieces of cannon, near the north eaſtern extremity of Sullivan's iſland, at the diſtance of near two miles from the fort, where they threw up works to prevent the paſſage of the royal army over the Breach. General Lee was encamped with a conſiderable body of forces on the

continent, at the back, and to the northward of the iſland, with which he held a communication open by means of a bridge of boats; and could by that means at any time march the whole, or any part of his force, to ſupport that poſt which was oppoſed to the paſſage of the Britiſh troops from Long Iſland. The latter is a naked burning ſand, where the troops ſuffered greatly from their expoſure to the intenſe heat of the ſun. Both the fleet and army were greatly diſtreſſed through the badneſs of the water; that which is found upon the ſea coaſts of Carolina being every where brackiſh. Nor were they in a much better condition with reſpect either to the quantity or quality of their proviſions.

Though theſe inconveniences rendered all manner of diſpatch neceſſary, ſome unavoidable delays occurred, by which the attack of Sullivan's Iſland was put off till the end of the month; and this interval the enemy moſt aſſiduouſly employed in completing their works. Every thing being at length ſettled between the Commanders by ſea and land, the Thunder-bomb, covered by the armed ſhip, took her ſtation in the morning of June 28. and began the attack, by throwing ſhells at the fort as the fleet advanced. About eleven o'clock the Briſtol, Experiment, Active and Solebay, brought up directly againſt the fort, and began a moſt furious and inceſſant cannonade. The Sphynx, Actæon and Syren were ordered to take their ſtation between the end of the iſland and Charleſtown, partly thereby to enfilade the works of the fort, and partly, if poſſible, to cut off the communication between the iſland and the continent, which would of courſe cut off the retreat of the garriſon, as well as all ſuccours from the latter, and partly to prevent any attempts that might be made by fire-ſhips or otherwiſe, to interrupt the grand attack. This part of the deſign was rendered unſucceſsful by the unſkilfulneſs of the pilot, who entangled the frigates in the ſhoals, called the middle grounds, where they all ſtuck faſt; and though two

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of them were afterwards got off with difficulty and damage, it was then too late, and they were beſides in no condition to execute the intended ſervice. The Actæon could not be got off; and was therefore burnt to prevent her falling into the enemy's hands.

In the mean time, the fire from the fort was continued ſlowly and deliberately, and with the greateſt effect. The ſhips ſuffered prodigiouſly. The ſprings of the Briſtol's cable being cut by the ſhot, ſhe lay for ſome time expoſed in ſuch a manner to the enemy's fire, that ſhe was moſt dreadfully raked. It is ſaid the quarter-deck of this ſhip was at one time cleared of every perſon, but the Commodore alone; all the reſt being either killed, or carried down to have their wounds dreſſed. The other ſhips likewiſe ſuffered very much, though none were ſo greatly damaged as the Briſtol. The American fortifications in the mean time ſuffered very little; their lowneſs preſerving them in a great meaſure from the ſhot of the Britiſh ſhips. They were compoſed of palm-trees and earth; and the merlons were of an unuſual thickneſs. The guns, however, were at one time ſo long ſilenced, that it was thought the fort had been abandoned. This, however, according to the Provincial account, was owing to their having expended all their ammunition; and as ſoon as a new ſupply was got from the continent, the fire was renewed, and kept up till between nine and ten at night. Sir Peter Parker then finding all hope of ſucceſs at an end, drew off his ſhattered veſſels, having 111 men killed and wounded aboard his own veſſel, and 79 on board the Experiment.

In the northern colonies, however, matters went on more ſucceſsfully.—The ſituation of General Howe with his army at Halifax, was by no means agreeable. The country was in no condition to afford them a ſufficient ſupply of proviſions or neceſſaries; nor was the place even capable of providing quarters for the private men, who were obliged to continue on board the ſhips during the whole of their

ſtay. Accordingly, the General growing impatient, without waiting for his brother, who was expected with powerful reinforcements, departed with Admiral Shuldham, and the fleet and army from Halifax, about the 10th of June; and near the end of the month arrived at Sandy-Hook, a point of land that ſtands at the entrance into that confluence of ſounds, roads, creeks and bays, which are formed by New-York, Staten, and Long Iſlands; the continent on either ſide, with the North and Rareton Rivers. On their paſſage, they were joined by ſix tranſports with Highland troops on board, who had been ſeparated from ſeveral of their companions on the voyage, and ſoon after it appeared, that ſome of the miſſing ſhips, with about 450 ſoldiers, and ſeveral officers, were taken by the American cruizers. The General found every part of the iſland of New-York ſtrongly fortified, defended by an army, and ſupplied with a large train of artillery. Tho' the extent of Long-Iſland did not admit of its being ſo ſtrongly fortified, or ſo well guarded, it was, however, in a powerful ſtate of defence. On the end of the iſland, near New-York, there was an encampment of a conſiderable force; and ſeveral works were thrown up on the moſt acceſſible parts of the ſea-coaſt, as well as at the ſtrongeſt internal paſſes.—Staten-Iſland being of leſs conſequence, had not been attended to; and here the General landed without oppoſition, to the great joy of thoſe inhabitants who had ſuffered on account of their loyalty; and the troops being cantoned in the villages, received plenty of thoſe refreſhments which they ſo much wanted.

Lord Howe arrived at Halifax about a fortnight after his brother's departure, and from thence came before Staten Iſland in the beginning of July. His firſt act was to iſſue a proclamation of pardon to all who ſhould ſpeedily return to their duty, whatever their deviations from it might hitherto have been; and at the ſame time, rewards were promiſed to thoſe who ſhould aſſiſt in reſtoring public tranquillity.

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Theſe papers were immediately ſent by General Waſhington to the Congreſs, by whom they were publiſhed in the news-papers with ſuch comments as they thought proper. Some letters were ſent to General Waſhington; but as they were directed only "to George Waſhington, Eſq;" or "to George Waſhington, &c. &c. &c." he refuſed to accept them.

A conference, however, took place between him and Adjutant-general Paterſon; but as the latter inſiſted on the expediency of accepting Lord Howe's propoſals, and ſubmitting to the Britiſh Legiſlature, nothing of conſequence could happen. Here it is proper to take notice, that ſome little time before the arrival of the fleet and army at New-York, plots were diſcovered in that city and in Albany in favour of the Royal Cauſe. On this account, ſome few were executed, great numbers were impriſoned; and many, abandoning their habitations through fear, were purſued as outlaws and enemies to their country. The eſtates of theſe people, againſt whom there were any proofs, were ſeized; and in the mean time, the declaration of Independence and renunciation of allegiance to Britain, was publiſhed thro' all the colonies, new forms of government inſtituted through the whole continent, and theſe innovations were received with the greateſt ſigns of joy by all ranks and degrees of men.

All the forces being at laſt arrived from England, except about one half of the Heſſians, which were not expected to come ſpeedily, it was reſolved to attack Long Iſland. Accordingly, the neceſſary meaſures being taken by the fleet for covering the deſcent, the army was landed without oppoſition near Utrecht and Graveſend, on the ſouth-weſt end of the Iſland, and not far from the narrows where it approaches cloſeſt to Staten Iſland. General Putnam was at that time with a ſtrong party, encamped at Brooklyn at a few miles diſtance on the north coaſt, where his works covered the breadth of a ſmall peninſula, having what is called the Eaſt River, which ſeparated him from New-York, on his left; a marſh

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on the right; with the bay and Governor's Iſland at his back. The armies were ſeparated by a range of hills covered with wood, which interſect the country from eaſt to weſt, and are in that part, called the Heights of Guana. The direct road to the enemy lay through a village called Flat-buſh, where the hills commenced, and near which was one of the moſt important paſſes. To ſecure this and other paſſes, General Putnam had detached a conſiderable part of his army; but through the negligence of the officers employed in this ſervice, a paſs of the greateſt conſequence was left unguarded, and the whole army paſſed the hills without the leaſt noiſe or impediment, and deſcended by the town of Bedford into the level country which lay between them and Putnam's lines. In the mean time, the Heſſians attacked thoſe at Flat-buſh; and they being ſoon ſenſible of the danger they were in, being incloſed between the Heſſians in front, and the main body who had paſſed the hills in the manner above mentioned, began their retreat in large bodies, carrying off their artillery, and marching in tolerable order, ſtriving if poſſible, to regain their camp. In this, however, they were diſappointed. They met with a furious attack from the King's troops, and were driven back into the woods; there they were again attacked by the Heſſians, who drove them back upon the main body of the King's army. Thus they were alternately driven backward and forward, and ſlaughtered for many hours. In theſe deſperate circumſtances, ſome of their regiments forced their way to the lines, and arrived ſafe at the camp; others periſhed in the attempt; many kept in the woods and eſcaped; others periſhed; ſome threw themſelves into the marſh already mentioned and were drowned, or periſhed in the mud: a conſiderable part, however, made their eſcape this way to the lines, though they were thinned every moment by the fire of the purſuers.

This was by far the worſt diſaſter which had befallen the Americans. Their loſs was repreſented in the

the Gazette account, as exceeding 3000 men, including about 1000 who were taken priſoners. Almoſt a whole regiment from Maryland, conſiſting entirely of young men of the beſt families in the country, was cut to pieces. The Americans, indeed, never owned that they loſt ſo many men; but it is certain, that this defeat exceedingly broke their ſpirits, and loſt them that confidence in their own proweſs, and aſſurance of victory, which are ſo eſſential to the ſucceſs of military enterpriſes. The victorious army encamped in the front of Putnam's lines on the 24th, and were preparing to attack them. Nothing, however, now remained, but to preſerve the remainder of the army on Long Iſland by a retreat; and even this was now rendered exceedingly precarious and dangerous. The taſk however was undertaken and executed by General Waſhington in a very effectual manner. In the night of the 29th, all the American troops were withdrawn from the camp, and their different works; and, with their baggage, ſtores, and part of their artillery, were conveyed to the water ſide, embarked and paſſed over a long ferry to New-York, with ſuch ſurpriſing ſilence and order that the Britiſh army did not perceive the leaſt motion, and were amazed at finding the lines abandoned in the morning, and ſeeing the laſt of the rear-guard, (or, as the Americans ſay, a party which had returned to carry off ſome ſtores that had been left behind) in their boats, and out of danger.

Soon after this tranſaction, General Sullivan, who had been taken priſoner in the late action, was ſent upon parole with a meſſage to the Congreſs. The general purport of this meſſage, was to deſire a conference with ſome of the members of that aſſembly as private perſons; his inſtructions from government not allowing him to treat with the Congreſs as an independent legiſlative body. But this propoſal was rejected; and the Congreſs replied, that being the repreſentatives of the free and independent ſtates of America, they could not, with propriety, ſend any of

their

their members to confer with him in a private capacity; but that, as they were always desirous of re-establishing peace on reasonable terms, they would send a committee of their body, to know whether he had any authority to treat with persons authorised by Congress for that purpose, and to hear such propositions as he should think it reasonable to make. Accordingly Dr Franklin, Mr Adams and Mr Rutlidge, were appointed to wait on Lord Howe in Staten Island. The negociation, however, came to nothing; as no proposals were made, excepting such as had in effect been offered already, namely, a promise of indemnity and pardon, upon condition of absolute submission. Proposals of this kind, however, could not be accepted by the Americans, unless they had owned themselves transgressors, which they never yet have done.

All hopes of peace being thus at an end, the Royal Army, now divided from New-York only by the East River, became very impatient to pass that boundary, and make themselves masters of the city. They were posted along the coast wherever they could see or front the enemy, and erected many batteries to answer, if not to silence theirs. A fleet, consisting of more than 300 sail, including transports, covered the face of the waters; while the ships of war threatened destruction to every part of the island, and were continually engaged with one or other of the batteries with which it was surrounded. The small islands between the shores were perpetually contested, until, by dint of a well served artillery, and the superiority of the British troops, they secured such as best suited their purpose. The Americans, now being quite disheartened, abandoned the city to their enemies, and retired to the north part of the island, where they had very strong works, particularly at King's-bridge, where they seemed sufficient to defy the attempts of any force whatever. Their nearest encampment was on the Heights of Harlem, at the distance of about a mile and an half. M'Gowan's-pass, and the strong grounds, called Morris' heights, lay between

between them and King's-bridge, and were defenſible againſt a very great force. In this ſituation, frequent ſkirmiſhes happened between the two armies; and the Americans ſeemed at laſt to recover from their conſternation.

In the mean time, ſome incendiaries, who had probably ſtaid behind for that purpoſe, reſolved to ſet fire to the city of New-York, in order to render it as little uſeful to the conquerors as poſſible. For this purpoſe, they prepared ſome combuſtibles with great art and ingenuity; and taking advantage of dry weather, and a briſk wind, on the 20th of September, ſet fire to the city about midnight, in ſeveral places at the ſame time. Thus, near a third part of this beautiful city was reduced to aſhes; and nothing leſs than the courage and activity of the troops, as well as the ſailors, who were diſpatched from all parts, could have ſaved the remainder. Many of the wretches who were concerned in this buſineſs, being detected, were, without any trial, thrown into the flames by the enraged ſoldiers.

On the 12th of October, General Howe, having reſolved to diſlodge the enemy from the corner of York-iſland they ſtill poſſeſſed, embarked the greater part of the army in flat-bottomed boats, and other veſſels proper for the ſervice, paſſed ſucceſsfully through the dangerous navigation, called Hell-Gate, which forms a communication between the Eaſt river and the ſound, and landed on Frog's-neck, near the town of Weſt Cheſter, which lies on that part of the continent belonging to New-York on the ſide of Connecticut. The firſt object of this expedition was, to cut off the communications between Waſhington and the eaſtern colonies; and then, if this meaſure did not bring him to an engagement, to incloſe him on all ſides in his faſtneſſes on the north end of the Iſland. The King's troops were now maſters of the lower road to Connecticut and Boſton; but, to gain the upper, it was neceſſary to advance to the high grounds, called the White plains; a rough, ſtony, and mountainous

tainous tract, which, however, is only part of the aſcent to a country ſtill higher, rougher, and more difficult. On the departure of the army to the higher country, it was deemed neceſſary to leave the ſecond diviſion of the Heſſians, with the Waldeck regiment at New Rochelle, as well to preſerve the communications, as to ſecure the ſupplies of proviſions and neceſſaries that were to arrive at that port.

General Waſhington now perceived the danger of his ſituation. He ſaw, that, if he continued where he was, he would at laſt be obliged to commit the whole to the deciſion of a pitched battle, the event of which he had every reaſon to fear. He therefore formed his army into a line of ſmall, detached, and entrenched camps, which occupied every height and ſtrong ground from Valentine's-hill, not far from King's bridge on the right, to the White-plains, and the upper road to Connecticut on the left. In this poſition, they faced the whole line of march of the King's troops at a ſmall diſtance, the deep river Brunx covering their front, and the north river at ſome diſtance in the rear; whilſt the open ground to the laſt afforded a ſecure paſſage for their ſtores and baggage to the upper country. A garriſon was left for the protection of fort Waſhington, the lines of Harlem, and King's bridge.

On the approach of the King's army, the Americans quitted their detached camps along the Brunx, and, joining their left, took a ſtrong ground of encampment before the Britiſh on the White-plains. On the 28th, an engagement enſued, in which the Americans, as uſual, were defeated. General Waſhington, however, had no intention of allowing this or any other battle to become deciſive, while there was a poſſibility of avoiding it. He therefore abandoned his camp on the night of November 1. and entrenched himſelf on the higher grounds. General Howe next day took poſſeſſion of the American entrenchment; but finding it impoſſible to force them to an engagement, he determined to make himſelf

ſelf maſter of the ſtrong forts named Waſhington and Lee, which they ſtill poſſeſſed on York Iſland.—It would be tedious to enter into a detail of the operations of the ſiege. It is ſufficient to take notice, that Fort Waſhington was taken, and the garriſon, conſiſting of 3000 men, made priſoners of war; and Fort Lee was abandoned, the garriſon, conſiſting of 2000 men, very narrowly eſcaping, after being obliged to leave their artillery, ſtores, and every thing elſe behind them. After this, the victorious army over-run both the Jerſeys without oppoſition, the enemy flying every where before them. At length, they extended their winter cantonements from New Brunſwick to the Delaware. If there had been any means of paſſing that river on their firſt arrival, there is not the leaſt doubt that they would have eaſily become maſters of Philadelphia; but the Americans very prudently either deſtroyed all the boats, or took them out of the way.

In the mean time, General Clinton, with two Brigades of Britiſh, and two of Heſſian troops, with a ſquadron of ſhips of war, under the command of Sir Peter Parker, made an attempt upon Rhode Iſland. In this they ſucceeded beyond their expectation. On the 8th of December, the Americans abandoned the Iſland, and the Britiſh took poſſeſſion of it, without the loſs of a man; at the ſame time, that they blocked up the provincial fleet under one Hopkins, who had before been attended with conſiderable ſucceſs in ſome predatory attempts on the Weſt India Iſlands.

Fortune had now declared herſelf ſo much an enemy to the American Republic, that it was no wonder to find their armies exceedingly diſheartened. The ſoldiers alſo, having engaged themſelves only for a year, began to return home in great numbers; and very few could be prevailed upon to continue in the ſervice. In ſhort, every thing ſeemed to conſpire towards a diſſolution of their ſtate; and the ſubmiſſion of ſome of the colonies was daily expected

by the Britiſh. This expectation indeed ſeems to have been extremely well founded. The American army in fact did not exceed 2500 or 3000 men, when, at the beginning of the campaign, it had amounted to 25 or 30,000; and the ſupport to be derived from new levies, was both precarious and remote. To add to all their other misfortunes, Gen. Lee was taken priſoner on the 13th of December by Colonel Harcourt, with a ſmall party of horſe, as he lay carelefsly guarded at a ſmall diſtance from the main body of his troops. The capture of this General was attended with a circumſtance which has ſince been attended with much diſtreſs and inconvenience to individuals on both ſides. A cartel, or ſomething of that nature, had been for ſome time eſtabliſhed for the exchange of priſoners between Generals Howe and Waſhington, which had been carried into execution as far as time and other circumſtances would permit. But as Lee was peculiarly obnoxious to government, it has been ſuppoſed that General Howe was tied down by his inſtructions from parting with him upon any account. General Waſhington, not having at this time any priſoner of equal rank with Lee, propoſed to exchange ſix field officers for him; the number being intended to balance the diſparity of rank. If this was not accepted, he inſiſted that Lee ſhould be treated with all the reſpect due to his rank. To this it was replied, that Lee was a deſerter from his Majeſty's ſervice, and conſequently could not be conſidered as a priſoner of war, nor was he entitled to any of the benefits of the cartel; and this reply brought on a fruitleſs diſpute, whether Lee, who had reſigned his half-pay at the beginning of the troubles, ought to be conſidered as a deſerter or not.

The conſequence of all this, however, was, that Lee was put into cloſe confinement, and the Americans retaliated, by uſing Colonel Campbell, and ſome other officers they had in their power, very ſeverely. The Congreſs, foreſeeing the bad conſequences that might

might attend the total want of an army, had iſſued orders, about the middle of September, for the raiſing of 88 battallions; and that they might in time be able to cope with the King's army, they alſo enacted, that ſuch as were now raiſed, ſhould continue in the ſervice during the war. A conſiderable bounty was allowed them; and, at the concluſion of the war, each ſoldier was to have 100 acres of land. With all theſe encouragements, however, the buſineſs of recruiting went on but very ſlowly; nor did the number of troops actually raiſed, at any time, equal that which was voted.

The dangerous ſituation of Philadelphia now induced the Congreſs to retire to Baltimore in Maryland. Internal diſſenſions alſo proved detrimental to the American affairs; and for ſome time prevented Philadelphia from being put into a proper ſtate of defence. The ſeverity of the weather, however, ſoon rendered it neceſſary to put the Britiſh and auxiliary troops under cover. They were accordingly thrown into great cantonements, forming an extenſive chain from Brunſwick on the Rariton, to the Delaware; occupying not only the towns and villages which came within that line, but thoſe alſo on the banks of the Delaware for ſeveral miles. In this ſituation, General Waſhington formed a deſign of attacking ſome of theſe detached bodies, which, he hoped, would have the effect of making the enemy at leaſt contract their cantonements, and quit the neighbourhood of Philadelphia. For this purpoſe, he aſſembled his forces in three diviſions, appointing each of them to meet at the Delaware as ſoon after dark, and with as little noiſe as poſſible, on Chriſtmas night. They executed their orders very exactly; and three regiments of Heſſians were ſurpriſed, and moſt of them obliged to ſurrender themſelves priſoners of war. No other part of the ſcheme, however, ſucceeded, on account of the ice with which the river was filled, which prevented their boats from paſſing farther down. The whole number of priſoners taken on this occaſion amounted to 918.

This ſmall ſucceſs, wonderfully raiſed the ſpirits of the Americans; eſpecially as the victory was gained over the Heſſians, of whom they were moſt afraid, and to whom they bore the moſt implacable hatred. On the other hand, it greatly alarmed the Britiſh. Lord Cornwallis, who was on the point of ſailing to England, found it neceſſary to return for the defence of the Jerſeys; and immediately marched to attack Waſhington, who was ſtrongly poſted at Trenton Creek. Several ſkirmiſhes happened in the approach; and at laſt a canonade continued on both ſides for a whole day. The American General, however, had no intention to riſque a battle, and therefore decamped in the night time with ſuch ſecrecy and ſilence, that his enemies had not the leaſt notion of his departure. On his march, he fell in with three Britiſh regiments; two of which, viz. the 17th, commanded by Colonel Mawhood, and the 55th, were totally ſurrounded, cut off from the reſt of the body, and attacked on all ſides. The brave Colonel Mawhood, however, with his regiment, cut their way through the enemy; and the 55th made good their retreat to Brunſwick. The three regiments ſuffered ſeverely; their whole loſs in priſoners amounting to 200; but the killed and wounded were much fewer.

Though the Americans had many more killed in this action than their enemies, they conſidered themſelves as victors; and by the conſequences, it appears that they actually were ſo: for in a few days, they overran all the Jerſeys, and poſted themſelves ſo ſtrongly that they could not be diſlodged; while the Britiſh army retained only the two poſts of Brunſwick and Amboy, the one ſeated a few miles up the Rariton, and the other on a point of land at its mouth; and here they were very much ſtraitened during the winter; being obliged both to continue the moſt ſevere and unremitting duty, and harraſſed with continual ſkirmiſhes.

In the mean time, the Indians, particularly the Creeks and Cherokees, being excited by ſome Britiſh agents,

agents, fell upon the frontiers of the colonies. The former, not finding themſelves ſupported, ſuddenly ſtopped ſhort; but the latter, for ſome time carried deſolation and ruin through their neighbourhood, totally deſtroying the ſettlements, and murdering all thoſe who came in their way. They were ſoon checked, however, and made to repent their folly. They were defeated in every action, and purſued by the militia of Virginia and Carolina into their own country. There the Indian towns were demoliſhed, their corn deſtroyed, and their warriors thinned in repeated engagements; until the whole nation was nearly exterminated, and the wretched ſurvivors were obliged to ſubmit to ſuch terms as the victors thought fit to preſcribe.

Such was the ſtate of affairs at the cloſe of the year 1776; from which we may ſee how little was that year actually effected towards the conqueſt of America. That the Americans themſelves thought ſo indeed, we have a convincing proof, ſince, on the 4th of October this year, even when their affairs ſeemed in the moſt deſperate ſituation, they entered into a treaty of perpetual compact and union among themſelves, and laid down an invariable ſyſtem of laws for their government, in all public caſes, with reſpect either to peace or war, and to their commerce with other ſtates.

In 1777, nothing happened between Sir William Howe and Waſhington, except ſome inconſiderable ſkirmiſhes, till the grand expedition againſt Philadelphia was ſet on foot. This expedition ſpread the greateſt alarm throughout the continent; and General Waſhington uſed his utmoſt efforts to defend that important place. Notwithſtanding the ſucceſſes of the Britiſh army laſt year, they now found it impoſſible to attack Philadelphia by the way of the Jerſeys. There was, therefore, a neceſſity for the embarkation of the troops, in order to their reaching the place of their deſtination. When they had reached the Capes of Delaware, they there received ſuch infor-

mation concerning the meaſures taken to render the navigation of that river difficult, that they abandoned all thoughts of proceeding that way. It was then reſolved to attempt a paſſage by Cheſapeak-bay, to that port of Maryland which lies to the eaſtward of the bay juſt now mentioned, and is not very far diſtant to the ſouthweſt of Philadelphia. In this voyage, the winds were ſo unfavourable, that the fleet did not enter the bay till the middle of Auguſt. The wind proving fair afterwards, the troops landed on the 25th of the ſame month at Elk Ferry; and while one part advanced to the head of Elk, the other continued at the landing place to protect and forward the artillery, ſtores, &c. General Waſhington, in the mean time, returned from the Jerſeys with an army of 15,000 men, and advanced to the Brandywine creek or river; which, croſſing the country about half way to Philadelphia, falls into the Delaware. About Sept. 3. the royal army quitted the head of Elk, and purſued its march to Philadelphia; and in the mean time, the enemy had advanced from the Brandy-wine, and taken poſt on Red-clay-creek, from whence they puſhed detachments forward to occupy difficult poſts in the woods, and to interrupt by continual ſkirmiſhes, the line of march. In theſe ſkirmiſhes, the King's troops were almoſt always victorious; nor does it appear that the Americans made all the uſe they might have done of the advantages the country afforded.

On the 11th of September, the paſſage of the fords was diſputed, and a kind of general engagement enſued. The Americans were defeated, and were ſaved from total deſtruction only by the coming on of the night. Their loſs was but ſmall, conſidering the numbers on both ſides. In the Gazette, it was computed at 300 killed, 600 wounded, and near 400 taken priſoners. Another diſaſter they met with on the 20th of this month: A body of 1500 men, under General Wayne, was ſurpriſed by Major General Grey, 300 of them killed, and a great number wounded and taken priſoners.

Theſe

Theſe actions decided the fate of Philadelphia; and Lord Cornwallis took poſſeſſion of the city on the 26th of September. Lord Howe no ſooner received intimation of theſe advantages, than he conducted the fleet and tranſports round to the Delaware. The navigation of that river, as we have already obſerved, was rendered impracticable; and on both ſides, ſtrong forts and batteries were erected. All theſe, however, were now either taken or abandoned, and the paſſage up the river at laſt cleared, ſo that the conqueſt of Philadelphia now became compleat.

The acquiſition of this place, however, was not attended with all the advantages that had been expected, indeed, ſcarce with any. The American army ſtill kept the field; nay, on the 4th of October, they attacked the Royal Army itſelf at Germantown, and though repulſed with loſs, they ſhewed ſuch reſolution, that the conqueſt of America ſtill appeared very diſtant. In ſhort, all the advantages derived from the campaign of 1777 on the Delaware, amounted to no more than the ſimple procuring a good winter lodging for the army in the town of Philadelphia. They poſſeſſed no more of the country than what they commanded immediately by their arms; and the Americans had given repeated proofs, that however they might attack, when they thought it for their advantage, they never would be brought to a deciſive battle.

The unfortunate iſſue of the Canada expedition, under the direction of General Burgoyne, muſt ſtill be freſh in the memory of every one; and as it would neceſſarily prove tedious, and even, in ſome degree unintelligible, to enter into the minute details of military operations related in the Gazette accounts, we ſhall content ourſelves with giving a brief and general account of the deſign and cauſes of failure of this enterpriſe.

The deſign we have formerly hinted at, namely, that Burgoyne coming down from Canada with his army, was to be joined by General Howe, or by

reinforcements

reinforcements from him: after which, the northern colonies being embaraſſed with one enemy in the heart of their country, and another on their coaſts, could not know which way to turn themſelves; and therefore muſt of courſe either ſubmit, or be totally deſtroyed. The plan was certainly well laid; and had it ſucceeded, in all probability the conſequences juſt now mentioned muſt have enſued. One cauſe of its failure, however, certainly was, that General Howe was out of the way, being at Philadelphia when Burgoyne had the greateſt occaſion for his aſſiſtance. The principal reaſon, however, without doubt, was the nature of the country through which the Britiſh army was obliged to march. Armies may be conquered, but woods, marſhes and deſarts will in the end overcome the ſtrongeſt army that can be imagined; and to thoſe, not to the American valour, is due the honour of Burgoyne's capture.

The regular force with which General Burgoyne ſet out, amounted to 7137, of which 3217 were Germans. A number of Cannadian auxiliaries alſo ſerved under him; but how many there were, has never been properly aſcertained.—With theſe, he arrived at Bouquet River on the weſt-ſide of Lake Champlain at no great diſtance to the north of Crown Point. Here he had a conference with the Indian chiefs; and according to their cuſtom, he gave them a war feaſt. He made a ſpeech to them, calculated as much as poſſible to mitigate the diabolical ferocity of theſe wretches. This no doubt had ſome little weight; but no excuſe can poſſibly be made for civilized people who employ theſe ſavages in their wars againſt one another. The infernal ſpirit of malice, cruelty, and revenge, with which the American Savages are actuated, and their total want of every principle that can be called good or virtuous in human nature, are well known. In what light then muſt we view thoſe who pretend to be civilized and of a humane diſpoſition, nay, who pretend to be *Chriſtians*, and yet let looſe ſuch a crew of incarnate Devils upon one another.

But,

But, leaving reflections of this kind to Philoſophers or Divines, we muſt now proceed to give an account of the expedition itſelf.—The firſt object was the fortreſs of Ticonderago. It was ſtrongly fortified; but being entirely commanded by an eminence called Sugar Hill, a conſultation was held among the American officers about fortifying this alſo. This, however, was judged to be improper, as their fortifications were ſaid to be already too extenſive for the number of their men. For this reaſon, they abandoned the fortreſs with ſo much precipitation, that they left behind them moſt of their military ſtores. Such of their baggage as could be carried off, were embarked on board of 200 batteaux; which alſo carried a large detachment of their forces. Theſe batteaux ſailed up the ſouth river in their way to Skeneſborough, while the main army took its route to Caſtletown, in order to reach the ſame place.

This precipitate and cowardly flight, proved more ruinous to the Americans than a ſurrender almoſt upon any terms could have been. They were cloſely purſued and overtaken both by ſea and land. It is not to be ſuppoſed, that thoſe who abandoned ſtrong fortifications on the bare approach of an enemy, would make any great reſiſtance in the field. In fact, they did not. Their batteaux and other veſſels were all taken or burnt; and their land forces were utterly defeated and obliged to fly into the woods, where many of them miſerably periſhed.

In the mean time, Colonel Hill was detached with the 9th regiment from Skeneſborough towards Fort Anne, in order to intercept the fugitives who fled along the Wood Creek, whilſt another part of the army was employed in carrying batteaux over the falls, in order to facilitate their movement to diſlodge the enemy from that poſt. In that expedition, the Colonel was attacked by a party of Americans, conſiſting, as he ſuppoſed, of at leaſt ſix times the number of his men. But even this vaſt ſuperiority was not ſufficient to give them the victory. After an attack of three hours,

hours, they were repulſed with ſo great loſs, that they ſet fire to Fort Anne, and fled with the utmoſt precipitation towards fort Edward, upon Hudſon's river.

General Burgoyne ſpent ſome days at Skeneſborough, being under a neceſſity of waiting for the arrival of tents, baggage, and proviſions. The utmoſt diligence was uſed to clear the roads which had been blocked up by trees, ſtones, &c. by the enemy, in ſuch a manner, as to be altogether impaſſable. With their utmoſt efforts, however, the Royal Army was unable, for ſome time, to proceed further than at the rate of one mile a-day, a thing which in future ages will no doubt be reckoned incredible. The face of the country was alſo ſo much broken by creeks and marſhes, that they were obliged, in a very ſhort ſpace, to conſtruct no fewer than 40 bridges, one of which was of log-work, over a moraſs two miles in extent. All theſe difficulties, however, were ſurmounted; and the Royal Army reached Hudſon's River about the end of July.

Though the Americans were thrown into the utmoſt conſternation by the loſs of Ticonderago, and the progreſs of the Royal Army, no ſort of diſpoſition to ſubmit appeared in any quarter. General Arnold was ſent to the aſſiſtance of the northern army, with a train of artillery, which he received from Waſhington. On his arrival, he drew the troops back from Saratoga, where they were poſted, to Still Water, a central place between that and the mouth of the Mohawk-river, where it falls into the Hudſon's. This was deſigned to oppoſe the progreſs of Colonel St Leger, who was advancing againſt Fort Stanwix, with a conſiderable body of troops. Arnold's forces increaſed every day, owing to the terror excited in the minds of the people by the cruelties of the ſavages. A general indignation indeed took place, and how could it be otherwiſe, againſt an army which employed ſuch auxiliaries in a civil conteſt; thereby endeavouring, as the Americans ſaid, to exterminate thoſe whom they affected to conſider,

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and pretended to reclaim as ſubjects. Thus, the advantages expected from the terror, excited by theſe ſavage auxiliaries, were not only counteracted, but the direct contrary ones were produced. The people, inſtead of ſubmitting, ſhewed a moſt determined ſpirit of reſiſtance. Thus an army was ſuddenly raiſed much greater and more formidable than their regular one had been.

In the mean time, General Burgoyne, who was now in the neighbourhood of Fort Edward, began to experience thoſe difficulties, which gradually increaſed, till they became at laſt unſurmountable. Theſe difficulties began with a difficulty in procuring proviſions. No more than 50 teams of oxen could be procured in all the country, and theſe were totally inadequate to the purpoſe of ſupplying the daily conſumption of the army, much leſs of eſtabliſhing ſuch a magazine as was neceſſary for their purpoſes. Their utmoſt exertions for this purpoſe continued for 15 days ſucceſſively, were able to procure no more than four days proviſions in ſtore, and ten batteaux in Hudſon's River.

In theſe diſtreſſing circumſtances, General Burgoyne determined, if poſſible, to effect a junction with Colonel St Leger, who had been detached with a conſiderable body of Indians and Canadians, and ſome regular troops to beſiege Fort Stanwix, lying up the Mohawk river. This, however, was impracticable, unleſs a ſupply of proviſions could ſome way or other be obtained, and for this end; it was reſolved to attempt the ſurpriſe of a kind of magazine the Americans had at Bennington. This was attempted by Colonel Baum with about 500 men; but the Americans having got intelligence of the deſign, the colonel found them too ſtrong to be attacked with his force, and therefore ſent for a reinforcement. Another party, under Colonel Breyman, was immediately diſpatched to his aſſiſtance; but, by reaſon of the badneſs of the roads, this ſecond party did not arrive in time; and both were attacked

tacked by the Americans one after another, and defeated with great ſlaughter.

St Leger, in the mean time, gained a conſiderable victory over a party of Americans who were marching to the relief of fort Stanwix. The Indians, however, ſuſtained ſo great a loſs in the engagement, that from that moment, they became quite ſullen and untractable. They murdered the unhappy priſoners in cold blood, and St Leger uſed his utmoſt endeavours to intimidate the garriſon into a ſurrender, by magnifying his own power, and the hopeleſs ſituation the Americans were in. The governor, however, could not be intimidated; and in the mean time, the Indians having received intelligence, that Arnold was advancing with a conſiderable body of troops to the relief of Fort Stanwix, forced the Colonel to abandon the ſiege; moſt of them at the ſame time abandoning the army, and plundering the ſoldiers and officers of whatever they could carry off.

The bad ſucceſs at Bennington was only a prelude to greater misfortunes to General Burgoyne and his once victorious army. General Gates took the command of the American army. They had a great opinion of his abilities, and their ſpirits being now raiſed by the ſucceſſes they had met with, they no longer ſtood on the defenſive, but attacked the King's army very fiercely. They even attempted to recover the fort of Ticonderago, and thus they would have cut off all poſſibility of retreat from the unhappy General. This expedition indeed, was unſucceſsful, but it abundantly ſhewed the Americans were not the contemptible enemies they had all along been thought; and the ſituation of General Burgoyne became every day more hopeleſs.

In the mean time, freſh bodies of militia poured in from all quarters to the aſſiſtance of General Gates. The numbers of his troops increaſed ſo much, and their attacks were ſo vigorous, that the deſtruction of the whole army ſeemed unavoidable. In one of theſe was killed the brave Brigadier General

ral Fraſer, and ſome other officers of diſtinction were wounded and taken priſoners. General Burgoyne did every thing for the ſafety of his men that poſſibly could be done; but the difficulty of obtaining proviſions increaſing every day, his retreat being intercepted on all ſides, his camp being almoſt ſurrounded by an army near four times as numerous as his own, who kept up an inceſſant cannonade againſt him, he was obliged at length to ſubmit with his whole army. The capitulation took place on the 17th of October. The ſoldiers were to be ſhipped from Boſton for England, as ſoon as Britiſh tranſports were procured to carry them; on condition of their not ſerving in America during the preſent war. The Canadians were to be returned to their own country on the ſame conditions; and in other reſpects every poſſible honour was allowed.

This terrible diſaſter ſeemed in a manner to decide the fate of America. All the ſucceſſes hitherto attending the Britiſh arms ſeemed quite inſignificant and trifling. They amounted indeed to no more than the taking of a few paltry towns and forts at the expence of much blood, and a great deal more money than would have bought them. Since the time of this capitulation, nothing remarkable hath been accompliſhed, or indeed attempted for the ſubduing of America. In the end of the year 1777, it was known to the Britiſh Miniſtry, that the Americans were about to enter into a treaty with France. On this Commiſſioners were ſent to America, with very advantageous propoſals of peace. But it was now too late. The treaty with France was already concluded, and the terms of the Commiſſioners were rejected with ſcorn. On this account, the Americans have been deſervedly blamed, as they have preferred war to peace, when the latter could have been obtained on very honourable and advantageous terms.—Concerning the event of the war, it is impoſſible to ſay any thing.—Philadelphia hath been evacuated, and again taken poſſeſſion of by the Britiſh; but we

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cannot reaſonably ſuppoſe the poſſeſſion of this, or any other town, to be attended with any permanent advantage, unleſs it is accompanied with the ſubmiſſion of the adjacent country. Some ſucceſs hath indeed attended Colonel Campbell in the ſouth; and the colony of Georgia is thought to be in the poſſeſſion of his Majeſty's troops; but how far this ſhall be a permanent conqueſt, or in what reſpects it may operate towards a total ſubmiſſion of the colonies, is difficult, indeed, impoſſible, to ſay.

HISTORY *of the Preſent* WAR *in* AMERICA, *brought up to* JUNE 1779.

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